

UTKAL UNIVERSITY HISTORY OF ORISSA

VOL. I

BY

N. K. SAHU, M.A., Ph.D. D.Litt

Vol. I
From the earliest time
Upto 500 A. D.

The figure on the Jacket is the reproduction from a relief sculpture in the Alakāpurī Cave, Udayagiri (Kumārī Pabbata)—1st Century B. C.

H.B.

UTKAL UNIVERSITY
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State Editor, Orissa

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PREFACE

Now that the First Volume of the 'Utkal University History of Orissa' is ready for publication, it would be useful to give a historical resume of the conception of the idea of publishing a history of Orissa.

The Academic Council of the Utkal University formed a Committee on 19-8-1944 consisting of the following members to compile a history of Orissa.

1. Rai Bahadur late Chintamani Acharya,
2. Late Mr. S. Ray,
3. " Mr. G. S. Das,
4. Mr. P. Mukherjee,
5. Dr. H. N. Sinha.

The Committee met on 27-10-44 and submitted its report to the Academic Council which was accepted by the Council on 22-3-45 and forwarded to the Syndicate for necessary action. The scheme, however, was not acted upon for some years. In 1954 the matter was again taken up (a research assistant was already appointed from 1948 to collect manuscripts from rural areas) and an Editorial Board was appointed consisting of the following members.

1. Dr. H. Mahtab,
2. Sri. G. S. Das,

   Prof. of History, Rav. College,
3. Dr. D. C. Sircar, Govt. Epigraphist, Ootcamund,
4. Dr. H. N. Sinha, Principal Agra College, Agra.
5. Sri R. P. Das, Lecturer in History (Secy.).

The first meeting of the Editorial Board was held in Bombay on 27-6-55 and it was decided to write the following three comprehensive volumes, the estimated cost for which was Rs. 83,000/-.

(1) Vol. I From the earliest time upto the conquest of Chodaganga Dev.
(2) Vol. II From Chodaganga Deva upto the end of Muslim Rule in Orissa.
(3) Vol. III From the beginning of Marhatta Rule upto the end of the British Rule.

For various reasons, however, the above decision did not materialise for sometime. But the collection of materials was in progress. It was decided later that the Political history of Orissa should be first compiled and the work of writing different chapters was allotted from time to time to different scholars in Orissa. Ultimately in 1961 it was decided to divide the work as detailed below:

(a) From earliest time upto 1568	...	Dr. N. K. Sahu
(b) From 1568 to 1751	...	Dr. H. N. Sinha.
(c) From 1751 to 1803	...	Dr. B. C. Ray
(d) From 1803 to 1901	...	Sri P. Mukherjee
(e) From 1901 to 1947	...	Dr. M. N. Das.

There was slight modification later on and certain items were assigned as detailed below:

(a) From 1568 to 1803	...	Dr. B. C. Ray,
(b) From 1901 to 1948	...	Dr. M. N. Das.

I do not feel competent to express any opinion on the quality of the work done which should be judged by the experts. But it is certainly the duty of the University to compile a history of Orissa which is likely to make a material contribution to the knowledge of history as a whole. We are grateful to the Board of Editors for their valuable work.

Cuttack.
The 5th June 1964.

(P. Parija)

AUTHOR'S NOTE

A comprehensive history of Orissa was a long felt need and the Utkal University attempted since 1944 to bring out such a work through an expert committee called "History Compilation Committee". The Committee was reorganised in May, 1959 with Dr. H. Mahtab the then Chief Minister as its Chairman and Dr. P. Parija, the Vice-Chancellor, as Vice-Chairman. I was entrusted with the work of writing the history of Orissa from the earliest time upto 1568 and the work started in right earnest from June, 1959.

The book is named "Utkal University History of Orissa" and is divided into seven volumes which are compiled by scholars as stated below:—

Dr. N. K. Sahu

Vol. I From the earliest time upto 500 A.D.
Vol. II From 500 A.D. to 1110 A.D.
Vol. III From 1110 A.D. to 1435 A.D.
Vol. IV From 1435 A.D. to 1568 A.D.

Dr. B. C. Ray

Vol. V From 1568 A.D. to 1803 A.D.

Sri P. Mukherjee

Vol. VI From 1803 A.D. to 1901 A.D.

Dr. M. N. Das

Vol. VII From 1901 A.D. to 1948 A.D.

Chapter I 'Prehistory' of Vol. I is contributed by Dr. G. C. Mohapatra, Lecturer, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Punjab University, Chandigarh. The map-Prehistoric sites of Orissa and photographs and drawings for plates I to XI are also furnished by him. I am thankful to Dr. Mohapatra for his help and co-operation. I also acknowledge with thanks the help of the Director General of Archaeology, Government of India,

who supplied the Air photograph of Sisupalgarh (Pl XX) for publication in this volume.

The followng Research Assistants appointed by Utkal University rendered help in the work of compilation:—

Sri P. K. Misra from May, 1959 to February, 1960.
Sri K. S. Behera from November, 1960 to November, 1961.
Sri R. C. Mohapatra from March, 1962 to April, 1963.
Sri T. P. Singh from April, 1963 to May, 1964.

I convey my sincere thanks to all of them.

The scheme for compilation of history of Orissa would not have materialised without sincere effort and encouragement of Dr. H. Mahtab and Dr. P. Parija, the Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Mahtab a reputed scholar-politician and a keen student of history, has patiently gone through the typed pages of this volume and approved for its publication. His learned 'Introduction' meant for all the seven volumes of the work is an illuminating analysis of history in general and history of Orissa in particular. The Preface has been written by Dr. Parija from his sick bed which indicates his sincere love for this work. I take this opportunity to convey my deep gratitude and respect for these two scholars and well-wishers.

My thanks are also due to Dr. M. N. Das, Professor of History and Sri G. C. Rath, Registrar, Utkal University for their kind interest and valuable suggestions from time to time for making the work a success.

Kharavela Nagar
Bhubaneswar.

N. K. SAHU.
5th June 1964.

INTRODUCTION

Aristotle has suggested that there are three different ways of representing the affairs of human life or of the world, for the matter of that, namely, History, Science and Fiction. History ascertains and records facts; science formulates laws out of the facts ascertained and recorded and fiction is the presentation of facts in an artistic manner. The science of anthropology grew out of the history of the Primitive Societies, while the form of history in the beginning was stories and legends or Puranas of India. Since those Aristotelian days, history has gradually developed to such an extent that its use is needed in many other spheres of human knowledge. At one time history confined itself to recording only political facts, and that too, not in all spheres but in the limited sphere of the kings and governments of the day. But the treatment which history receiving in the hands of interpreters has made it obligatory that history should not only deal with politics, but it should take into full account economics and sociology also. As anthropology as a science is the outcome of the history of primitive societies, so also economics, political science and sociology look up to history for supply of facts relating to civilised societies for their development. History has thus become a subject of all absorbing interest, telling the stories not only of growth and decay of civilisations, rise and fall of kingdoms and empires but of social evolutions and changes and economic relations of human beings.

Out of history, has grown historicism which assumes that recorded facts in history reveal the operation of a law governing the sequence of stages of evolution and changes in human society and that if the law is correctly understood the inevitable future can be predicted.

Among the propounders of historicism the most important are Hegel, Marx, St. Simon, Comte, Spencer, Spengler and Arnold Toynbee of modern times. These scholars have their own theories differing from one another about the flow of events in history and the future outcome of it. Karl Marx based on his interpretation of history a philosophy, which is now challenging all other philosophies of the world. According to Karl Marx it is the relationship amongst different classes in the society in the system of production and distribution of wealth which has shaped history

in different periods. The inexorable logic of history, according to Marx, is that the class conflict which has been going on, one submerged class eliminating the other in the past centuries, will end when the last submerged class, the wage earners, will be ascendant and mankind will then be free of classes. Amongst many other recorded facts of the world, the history of Orissa in 1866 in which year about a million people perished on account of famine has been taken into account by Marx to come to his conclusion. St. Simon (1760-1825) and Auguste Comte (1798-1857) came to the conclusion that human progress must pass through three ages, the theological, the metaphysical and finally the positive age when social life would be organised on the basis of science. In his exhaustive study and analysis of history almost from the dawn of civilisation to the present day Arnold Toynbee has observed that man cannot alter the laws of non-human nature but he can harness them to his own purposes. So man's dependence on these laws diminishes with the development of science and technology. But, according to Toynbee, so far as the laws of human nature are concerned, they will be controlled not only by man's relations with his fellow men but above all with God, his Creator. Human nature has always resisted laws of Nature. Faced with a challenge, man had brought about changes in the situation. But Toynbee says that man does not live under the law of Nature only but also under the law of God which is "Perfect Freedom".

The same set of facts leads to different conclusions as it happens in the case of all theories propounded by Philosophers. Although historicism is not a science to tell us in the same precision as A will be the result if B and C are there, all historians in their works try to draw some conclusions from the recorded facts and these conclusions are proved to be of immense help to politicians, statesmen, scientists and philosophers. History, therefore, provides a base for the development of human knowledge in various spheres.

It is usual to construct the history of a geographical unit, covering different periods marked by mainly political changes. But Toynbee holds that for proper study of history, the unit should not be a country or a period but a "society", of which people living in a geographical unit at a particular period are but a part. This opinion holds good particularly in the case of the history we are dealing with, namely, the history of Orissa. Two important questions arise while dealing with this history, first, whether the history of a region of India, the nation state, can be exclusively studied and if so, what its utility is and secondly whether the geographical unit which forms the distinct region has been so for centuries from the beginning of civilisation.

The reply to these two questions has been given in the negative by Toynbee after thorough examination of all aspects. Let us examine them closely here in the case of Orissa and take up the second question first. That the difficulty in writing out the history of a geographical unit like Orissa as it exists today is great, will be evident from the strenuous labour which the learned author of the 1st volume has put in to construct the ancient history out of the fragmentary accounts of various tribes and societies which existed then. The ancient Kalinga, the fame of which, at one time, spread over the entire South Asia lies now partly in Andhra and partly in Orissa. The headquarter of this great kingdom has moved from time to time towards north and ultimately settled itself in a place which is now in Orissa. The same is the case with regard to Odra, Utkal and Trikalinga, which were, at one time or the other, parts of the present Orissa. Even after the stage, when a distinct language developed in the process of the growth of civilization, different parts of present Orissa remained politically separated for centuries. The southern portion went under Golkunda in the 16th century and remained politically separated till 1936 when Orissa was made a separate province. The western part went under the Marhattas long before the coastal districts came under them. The northern parts went under the Nawabs of Bengal in the 16th century and never came back again. Looking back through centuries to the process of history, one observes the amazing phenomenon that although only the tiny area of present districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri have all along remained together without any kind of separation, political or otherwise and most of the other parts passed through centuries of separation, still the sentiment of belonging to the same family persisted and grew, ultimately resulting in the formation of the State of Orissa. What was this sentiment due to? What was the basis of this amazing family-consciousness? It is evident that besides the political power, there is something or there are many things which go to constitute the family-sentiment of a society. Besides the political force, there are two other forces, economic and social, which play a decisive role in the development of cohesion in a group of human beings. So far as Orissa is concerned, the economic force does not appear to have worked to build up that cohesion, for even now Orissa consists of many distinctly different economic units and this has been the case for the past centuries. There is no doubt that the social force or forces have been the deciding factors in keeping the society known as Oriyas together in spite of political and economic force working against it for many centuries. What are the social forces which have worked this wonder? Language, religion, caste, organisation, customs based upon religion, all these were social forces which could not be successfully combated by the new political and economic forces in the case of Orissa as well as Andhra, Karnatak and some other regions of India.

IV

Thus the Oriyas, as a distinct society has been able to exist in spite of all dangers to its existence. By and large the present Orissa is the home land of that society. There is a feeling that some border areas in the north, the south and the west should have been included in Orissa; but that is a separate subject altogether.

Then we come to the first question. Although the long history of the past establishes the fact that there are distinct societies, such as Oriyas, Andhras etc., is it worthwhile to perpetuate them to the detriment of the growth of India as a nation? Has not history established that India went down because of internecine conflicts amongst different regional societies? In the process of the growth of nationalism, has it not been the case in all countries to take effective steps beginning from abolishing the old geographical boundaries to destroying parties, sects and classes altogether to discontinue the past dividing factors and forge unification? The notable examples are abolition of old feudal provinces of France after the French Revolution and liquidation of whole classes in Russia after the revolution of 1919. Are not different socially conscious units the potential factors of disintegration of India which has attained political unification after about two thousand years from the date of Asoka? These are very valid question demanding thoughtful replies from the viewpoint of India as a nation.

In the course of history new social forces emerge, demanding institutions through which they must work. Either the old institutions serving other purposes previously are suitably modified peacefully or they are destroyed and new ones are created for the new purposes. The impact of industrialisation and democracy in course of the last two centuries, have resulted in elimination of parochial states and sublimation of the sentiment attached to them for generations to the higher level of nationalism. This process has been achieved either by revolution or by evolution. Arnold Toynbee has observed that if the adjustment of old institutions to the new forces is harmonious, growth will continue but if it is brought about by revolution, growth becomes hazardous. All the nations in the world as they exist today were at one time or the other consisted of several fragments, each having its own way of life, language, custom and civilisation. These fragments came together under new forces and adjusted themselves and became bigger units, the process taking some centuries to work out. Whenever physical force has been used to bring about this adjustment, break-down has taken place under such stresses as war. The First and the Second World Wars have broken down many units which were made into nations under physical pressure and created new units. For stability of growth, adjustment should be peaceful and evolutionary as it has

been in the cases of Great Britain, U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and many other countries. The example of U.S.S.R. may be quoted here because faith in compulsion is greater there than in persuation. The regional sentiments in the Russian empire which has now become the Soviet Union were as great as elsewhere. The Czars made systematic efforts to weaken the parochial loyalties by redistributing the geographical units to disturb the linguistic and other parochial affiliations. But they did not succeed to achieve this end, a fact which was proved when in 1919 after the First World War, a deputation of Georgians represented to the Peace Conference in Paris that they should be recognised as a separate non-Russian nationality. The same was the sentiment in Ukraine and some other regions. Centuries of Czarist rule could not kill the regional sentiment which burst out under the stress of war. Stalin recognised this fact and completely reversed the old policy. He, not only satisfied the parochial sentiment of regions as was expressed then but anticipated it elsewhere and recognised it. States were redistributed on the basis of parochial loyalties and due regard was shown to the local languages and traditions. In addition, planned effort was made to make the Russian language and the Russian sentiment accepted voluntarily by all the regions. This is a clear case in favour of persuasion and against compulsion.

Statesmen of India were wise in framing a constitution which recognises the regional languages and grants provincial autonomy to the farthest extent. Each region, proud of its own history, is now called upon to develop its language and culture so that it may contribute whole-heartedly to the growth of India as a nation establishing unity harmoniously in diversity. That is why in the interest of development of India as a nation, it is essential that the history of all distinct regions should be separately studied and written so that the full history of India may come out as a rainbow in which various colours are harmoniously blended not by man but by providence.

Coming to the History of Orissa, like any other history of thousands of years it is a tale of rise and fall, growth and decline which is dealt with in different volumes relating to different periods by distinguished scholars. Unfortunately no record of all the facts relating to even some major events which have changed the course of history is available. Thus the inquisitive mind is left only to guess and that too in an imperfect manner.

The recorded history of Orissa begins practically from Ashoka who renounced war as a state policy on the battle field near about the present Bhubaneswar after he had won the battle. The history of these about two thousand and three hundred years from the 3rd century B.C. to the 20th century can be analysed for the purpose of studying the growth, decline and

the arrest of the growth of the Oriyas. For the purpose of analysis, I am following more or less Toynbee's line and trying to pin-point the strength and the weakness of different periods.

The Aryan civilisation became a junior partner when it extended to Orissa about the 5th or the 6th century B. C. when the pre-Aryan civilisation was perhaps at a high level in the region. The excavation of the Sisupalgarh has brought to light the fact that Ashoka built his fort on the structure of some earlier forts which were built in a period when pre-Aryan civilisation was dominant. The plan and construction of these forts indicate that pre-Aryan civilisation had reached a high level when the Aryans moved southward. The Aryans could not make much headway towards the South as they had their own limit of expansion. Although the Aryan civilisation was superior it had to become a junior partner in the inter-mingling process, because, as Toyanbee points out, when a frontier between a more highly and a less highly civilised society ceases to advance, the balance does not settle down to a stable equilibrium but inclines, with the passage of time, in the more backward society's favour. This is why at one time the Aryans were forbidden this region by their law-makers.

The period preceding that of Ashoka was evidently a virile one and the society was apparently marching forward enthusiastically on the path of growth. Otherwise stubborn resistance could not have been offered to the invading Mauryas. The description of this epoch making battle given in the rock-edicts of Ashoka shows that the region was highly populous and the people were extra-ordinarily brave, as they fought almost to the last man to preserve their freedom. According to Megasthenes the Kalinga Army was consisting of 60,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry and 700 war elephants. Ashoka records that one hundred and fifty-five thousand were taken as captive, one hundred thousand were slain and many times that numbers perished from famine and pestilence which followed the war. Who was the King then and who were the people? The entire history of Greece of that period would have paled into insignificance if there had been some record of those brave and dauntless people. No monument has been erected for those nameless heroes who laid down their lives for the freedom of their land. Ashoka made himself immortal not for his victory in the war but for the change his life underwent as a result of the sacrifice of his brave opponents, of whom there is no record. Nevertheless History must first pay homage to them who have lain deep down below the foundation on which the structure of the Society grew in the coming centuries.

VII

The defeat inflicted by Ashoka must have brought about depression and retarded the growth for some centuries. But along with the defeat, Ashoka brought a new outlook in the society. A more refined civilisation grew. Kharavela was the symbol of the next growth. His personality must have supplied the necessary stimulus to the people to grow in the new direction. Kharavela was not only a great king but a great man as well. His rule has been described in details in his inscription on the Khandagiri hill. He was perhaps the only king of Orissa who was, as a matter of rule, devoting each alternate year of his rule to the economic development of the people. But how did that period come to end? How long the push he gave to the growth of civilisation lasted? There is no record. In all probability, the growth went on unhampered for many centuries. Mere political change is not enough to affect the growth of a civilisation. There were political changes; but the peak which the civilisation of the Oriyas reached in between the 5th and the 7th centuries A.D. could not have been reached in only a few centuries. It is reasonable, therefore, to surmise that the evolution, started during Kharavela's period, went on till the 5th century A.D. when the brightest period of the history began and continued till the 10th century A.D. During this period many a dynasty came and went, of whom the Bhaumas and the Somas were the most prominent. Round about Viraja (Jajpur) rose a civilisation which, in course of time, became the base of the distinct society which Orissa represents today. Ratnagiri, the great seat of learning which has come to light now was the work of that period. That was the period when students from all over India and abroad used to come to learn something in Orissa. Subhakar Keshari, a king of that period sent a manuscript as a present to the Emperor of China. Lalitgiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri are still standing as mute witness of that glorious period, the detailed accounts of which are still to be collected by the archaeologists. Bhubaneswar was the creation of that period. Oversea trade of Orissa known then as Kalinga reached its zenith in those centuries.

This was the period in which the virility of the society manifested itself in all fields, such as, art, religion, trade, education etc. The fact that the Somas came and succeeded the Bhaumas did not make any significant difference in the upward growth of the society, as apparently there was no violent change-over. Buddhism and Saivism embraced each other, one giving room to the other almost voluntarily. The later Bhaumas who were originally Buddhists became worshippers of Siva as is known from their inscriptions. The Somas who were pushed out of Kosala and who were ardent Saivites did not find much difficulty in propagating Saivism. It is true that there were instances of Buddhist temples and pillars being converted into Saivit institutions, such as the conversion ofa part of Ashoka pillar at Bhubaneswar into a Sivalinga in the Magheswar temple and relegation of the image of Ava-

lokitaswar to a corner in the temple of Kosaleswar in Keonjhar. But that was the period when Buddhism was dying a natural death in the whole of India because of various causes which grew in course of time.

But, since religion was the major force which was building up the civilisation during that period of the history of the world, what do we find in Orissa? In spite of huge temples at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarka built at huge cost, the village deity of the Pre-Aryan orgin is still supreme. The deity is worshipped not by a Brahmin but by a priest whose caste is looked upon as low in the hierarchy of castes. The main belief is still in some form of Buddhism. Even the Pancha sakhas of the 15th century based their preachings on the remnants of Buddhism, which took various forms in coming in contact with other religious systems. Bhubaneswar provides a fair example of competition and assimilation of various religious systems during the period under discussion. Here, for many centuries Buddhism had its day. Pilgrims from far and wide used to come to this centre which was then known as Tosali, as is known from one of the Nagarjuni Konda inscriptions. Then it gave way to Jainism. Jain relics are found in abundance round about Bhubaneswar. Then came Saivism which was subsequently overwhelmed by Jagannath of Puri. The Saiva temple of Bhubaneswar stands between Dhauligiri of the Buddhists on one side and Khandagiri of the Jains on the other. The main priests in this temple are non-Brahmins. A study of Bhubaneswar will indicate that the base which was provided during the 6th-7th centuries was not disturbed by what followed in the next centuries. Sobriety in art is the sign of the growth of a civilisation while promiscuity and exuberance are the signs of decline. The art of Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitgiri and Bhubaneswar gives evidence of growth while that of Konarka indicates decline.

Another indication of the importance of this period is the prestige attached to the title of 'Bhuyan' derived from the Bhaumas, in the aristocratic society of northern Orissa. There are many aristocratic families in Jajpur and Bhadrak who took great pride in their Bhuyan title. Many others who aspire to be known as aristocrates try to acquire the title by making efforts.

Before we proceed to the next period, we should have an idea about some characteristic features of the kingdom and the society then. The kingdom was apparently a small one covering a few sub-divisions of the present Orissa. Roughly it extended from Bhadrak to Bhubaneswar on the coastal side only. The Bhaumas were indigenous people, who produced their own kings. They had their kith and kin all round. With regard to culture, it was emerging then as the outcome of the inter-courses between the Aryan and the pre-Aryan civilisations, in which the former was the junior partner as

has been said above. The Bhauma regime can be compared with the Bhania regime in many respects, particularly in the respect that both grew out of the people as they were. When the Somas came, the boundaries of the kingdom extended and they became over-lords over many local indigenous chiefs. But since the Somas were themselves uprooted from their original home and since the pressure of local civilisation was great, the only compromise that seemed to have taken place was that the Brahminism of the Somas was accepted at a higher level of the society while they themselves came down to the people at levels other than religion. The indent of Brahmins in large numbers from Kanyakubja and other places and performances of Vedic Yanjyas at Jajpur and Choudwar had no doubt their effect on the society. This was the time when Atharva Veda became very popular amongst the Brahmins of Orissa as has been found out by scholars. The reason, perhaps was this that the Atharva Veda is more akin to the Tantras of the population than the other Vedas of the Aryans and the influence of the society as a whole was too great to be resisted. It should be noted that Buddhism was a religion of the masses and Brahminism was of the classes. The influence of the mass mind worked on the religion as a result of which the high philosophy of Buddha gradually came down to law practices which, in turn, became the cause of decline of the religion. During this period of decline of Buddhism, rose Sankaracharya to revive Brahminism of the classes and he met with complete success. Sankaracharya is said to have come to Puri at this time; and established a centre of his to propagate his philosophy. This must have helped Saivism to grow enormously as can be imagined from the number of the temples built in Bhubaneswar and in many other places. Although the change-over from Buddhism to Saivism appears to have been a smooth one, it can be imagined that the masses and the classes were separated in the matter of their thinking processes. This appears to be the major cause of decline which set in towards the end of the Soma period.

The next period is of the Gangas which is famous in history for expansion of territory. The Gangas expanded from the South and finally settled down in Orissa. They expanded to the north also. The temples of Jagannath and Konarka are the outstanding monuments of this period. The remarkable territorial expansion must have been a source of inspiration particularly to the classes if not to the masses. The military prowess of the kingdom increased considerably. But the society as a whole does not appear to have acquired sufficient cultural strength to get over the decline which was setting in. In numerous inscription of this period there is no evidence of any significant work of economic development undertaken as one finds in the history of the Cholas in the South. Orissa's oversea trade had come to a close. Detailed research has not been made as

to how the flourishing trade of Orissa in the South-East Asian countries came to a dead-stop in about 12th or the 13th century A.D. Three factors might have brought about this sad situation. One is the gradual silting of the mouth of rivers because of the litoral drift of the sea. The names of a number of ports on the Orissa coast are found in old records but there is not the slightest trace of any of them now. Only the port of Balasore was alive during the Moghul period. That too was soon closed as the mouth of Burabalang was silted up. The second factor seems to be the competition of the Cholas in the south of which we get some indication. The third seems to be the Arabian expeditions in the South-East Asian countries and regular piracy of some of the western sea-fairing countries. Whatever may have been the cause, the fact remained that the source of Orissa's wealth dried up. Agriculture, depending on the vagaries of nature was left to be the only source of living for the vastly expanded territory. In the circumstances, the society was bound to be stagnant.

When conquest was the main feature of the period, it was bound to come to a halt at a certain stage, for it has its own natural limitations. In about a century, the conquest of territories stopped. Even then no systematic work of development was undertaken although the administration was stabilised. Military strength also declined gradually. Lack of interest in the affairs of the kingdom on the part of the general population is noticed from several instances. This was the period when Mohammedan invasion was raging all over North India. The Hindu society was crumbling to pieces in the face of the onslaught of the Muslims. India, at that time, was failing to meet the challenge. Orissa, too, was failing, as would be evident from the fact that Feroz Shah Tughlak could come, plunder and slaughter the Hindus in the capital of Orissa with practically no opposition. It was easy for the invaders to conquer the country; but they did not do it, perhaps because it was out of the way and the invaders did not turn to the south just at that time. It does not appear to be a fact that the Mohammedans could not conquer Orissa till the 16th century because of her internal strength, as is popularly believed. The degeneration which had started in all the Hindu kingdoms and in the Indian society was there also in Orissa and amongst the Oriyas. The trends of weakness of the kingdom could be discerned from a few outstanding facts. Swami Narahari Tirtha of the Madhva cult was for many years in Orissa in the court of the Ganga kings and at last he became **de facto** king for some years. He was the propagator of the Bhakti cult of the Vaishnavas. Ramanuja is said to have visited Jagannath and established his centre during this period. Jayadev flourished at this time. Bhakti cult has been the external manifestation of internal loss of self-confidence and reliance on one's own exertion to meet the challenge of surroundings. It is significant that the Mohammedan

period in India produced a number of saints in Maharashtra, North India and Bengal who propagated Bhakti cult. Not only the Bhakti cult began to hold the ground in Orissa but prevalence of priestcraft also began during this period.

Arnold Toynbee has observed that geographical expansion is a concomitant of decline and disintegration and geographical expansion is a by-product of militarism. Both these factors worked during the Ganga period. In spite of vast expansion of the territory, there is no evidence of strong forts having been built on the frontiers for defence. Since it was the expansion of the South towards the North, naturally therefore, both in the Army and in the Government, the southern elements prevailed. These elements were virtually outside the indigenous society of the Oriyas. The effect of this influence was visible as time went on. Toynbee has further observed that a sense of promiscuity and syncretism in religions are the outward signs of growing internal weakness. Promiscuity manifests itself mainly in art and literature. We find it in abundance in the art of that period particularly in Konarka. The tendency to reconcile various rites, cults and faiths is not the sign of strength but of weakness according to Toynbee. We find in Jagannath, the fairest example of syncretism of all rites and cults beginning from the pre-Aryan days to the days of Sri Chaitanya. The process started during the Ganga period. Although the worship of Jagannath had been xisting long before Chodaganga built the magnificient temple, it came into over-riding influence in those centuries. Competition for power and pelf is greater in a stagnant society than in a growing one. This competition gradually becomes unhealthy and acrimonious internal dissensions become the order of the day. At this stage usually the Army over-powers the civil authority or the King. When the king disappears, rivalry starts amongst the Generals. Dissension amongst the generals ultimately ends in subjugation by some other superior power. This usual feature is noticed in the history of Orissa. After about a century of hectic activities of conquest the Ganga period came to a stagnant stage, which lasted for about a century more. The first sign of internal dissension was the approach of a feudal chief to Feroz Shah against the paramount king. Bhanu Deva. At the end, when the last Ganga king was lost in sexual pleasures, Kapilendra, a general of the south forcibly occupied the throne and started his career.

Now begins the last stage of the decline of the society. The rise which was recorded on Ratnagiri gradually came down and in about seven centuries, the decline was recorded on Konarka, the last flicker of a great civilisation. Unless the entire process of history of thousands of years is kept in view, it will not be possible to explain how suddenly the architectural art of Orissa disappeared on the beach of the sea at the mouth of

the river Prachi, the bank of which had seen the glorious rise of the Oriyas from the days of Kharavela. Konarka marked the end of a career. The period that followed and ended with Mukunda Deva was the epilogue as we will presently see.

Kapilendra was a great general and militarist. He went on expanding towards the south, taking advantage of the internal dissensions in the Andhra society. At that time the army of Orissa appears to have been dominated by the fighting classes of the Andhra society, particularly the Raju class. In the course of centuries, in the political kingdom of Orissa two distinct societies came to exist, namely, the Oriyas and the Andhras. The Oriyas of the north met with the Andhras of the south on the field of competition. In the competition of civilisations, it is virility which ultimately wins. In the competition between the Oriyas and the Andhras, none won, as both the societies were overwhelmed by a third force, namely, the Mohammedans within a short time. Kapilendra, by sheer physical force not only kept the kingdom intact but expanded further to the south, depending mainly on the weakness of the Andhra society. Since he was a general, he tried to fortify his territory from Midnapur to Rajmahendry. But internal weakness of the society was indicated almost immediately after Kapilendra Deva came into power. Inscriptions began to refer to rebellions here and there. The Andhras under the rising kings of Vijaynagar began to push. Mohammedan power were making thrusts both in the south and in the north. That was not the situation which could be managed by a pious king like Prataprudra Deva and saintly governors like Rai Ramananda. The conflict in the army itself between the northern and southern sections was coming to a head. General Govind Vidyadhar was the leader of the northern faction. At last he occupied the throne by force. Soon after Govinda Vidyadhar's death, Mukunda Deva, the Raju general of the Orissa army revolted and got possession of the kingdom. Orissa was invaded by the Afghans in the north, and the Golkunda Sultan in the south. Mukunda Deva fought bravely with his Raju army, a portion of which apparently was left on the northern border where he went to resist the Afghan invasion. But revolt broke out in other section of the army near Cuttack. Mukunda Deva came back and was killed by a feudal chief in a fratricidal battle on the bank of the Vaitarani. Orissa came under the invading foreigners who were bigots of the worst type. The land of temples came under the thumb of iconoclasts challenging the very existence of the society of the Oriyas. It was not a wayward fate which brought about this disaster but it was the natural ultimate outcome of a declining society in which a wide gulf is created between the administration and the people and internal dissensions rage in the ruling party or clique. But did the society die out as a result of this almost fatal challenge?

XIII

There are numerous instances in history which show the extinction of even advanced civilisations under the stress of political and religious challenges of a devastating nature. But the Oriyas, or for the matter of that, the Indians did not go the way of extinction. Sometimes it has so happened in history that individuals of extraordinary drive come forward and save the society from the grip of complete disintegration by clinging on to one or more elements which keep the society together. The society then shrinks and lives in a shell provided by the leadership and waits till favourable opportunity comes. For the Indian society it was the caste system upheld by the influence of religions which saved it. For the Oriyas that too was not existing, for the temple of Jagannath which had gradually become the centre of religious belief of the Oriyas was desecrated and the deity destroyed by the Afghans. Not only the political power was gone but the citadel of the religious authority also was gone. This was a situation which was the most congenial to the disappearance of society. But it was saved by Ramchandra Dev, son of Danai Vidyadhar who was a general under Suvarna Keshari Govinda Vidyadhar. Danai was put in prison by Mukunda Deva, and he died as a prisoner. Ramchandra, too, was imprisoned and deported to Rajmahendry. When confusion prevailed after the death of Mukunda Deva, Ramchandra escaped from the prison and collected together some generals of the Orissa army and established a kingdom near Khurda. He built a strong fort on the Barunai hill. He reinstated a newly constructed image of Jagannath in the temple and reorganised its worship on a system which even now holds good. He settled a large number of priests round about Puri. In a few years he succeeded in making the Hindu world believe that nothing had happened to Jagannath and His authority still prevailed. Ramchandra organised the local militia, known as Paikas. In fact, he got full support from the northern section of the old army of Orissa. This is how he commanded the allegiance of about the whole of northern Orissa and that part of south Orissa where the Oriya influence was predominant, in spite of the ruthless rule of the Afghans and the Moghuls at the top. Ramchandra made a successful diplomatic deal with Mansingh who took over Orissa on behalf of the Moghuls from the Afghans through the medium of Jagannath. Mansingh granted recognition to Ramchandra and his Khurda kingdom and in return Ramchandra recognised the Moghal emperor as his overlord. Mukunda Deva's son was given the Aul Zamindari by Mansingh in Cuttack. The fact that Ramchandra was recognised by people as the successor of the kings of Orissa indicates the support he got from the army chiefs of the north and the dvision in the army which had thrown the kingdom into the jaws of the invadors. The Anka or the regnal year of the king of Khurda was accepted by the society as a whole, indicating complete success which Ramchandra achieved.

Thus a shell was created by Ramchandra and in this shell the Oriyas lived for about three centuries. Syncretism in religion of which Jagannath became the epitome and which, as has already been said above, was the sign of weakness in the society, became the greatest unifying factor and thus a source of strength at the time of a grave crisis. As Kharavela was the morning star when the forward march of the Oriyas began, Ramchandra Deva was the midnight star when complete darkness engulfed the people towards the end of the 16th century.

The shell, however, began to crack under the pressure of the new forces which were let loose when the Mohammedan rule was firmly established. These forces were religious fanaticism, devilish rapacity for wealth and all sensual pleasures on the side of the authorities, utter demoralisation of the classes which used to rule and protect the people at one time and complete apathy of the general population towards what was happening to the society as a whole. At one time the classes exploited the masses either in the name of the kings or in the name of priesthood which was rigorously enforcing the caste-rules without any check from the kings. When the classes, themselves, were exploited by a third force, they did not have the sympathy and support of the people. They lost faith in themselves and in God whom they worshipped. The Khurda house and the temple of Jagannath were plundered more than once even by the Hindu Governors of the Moghals. Konarka was desecrated and finally forsaken for all time to come. When Purushottam Dev was forced to give away his daughter as present to the Emperor Jahangir, the shell cracked. The prestige which was built by Ramchandra Deva perished. Ultimately towards the end of the Mohammedan Rule, the then Raja of Khurda adopted Islam, marrying the sister of Mir Habib who invited the Marhattas to Orissa to avenge himself of the feud he had with his Mohammedan rivals. Human character in those days came to a very low level both amongst the Hindus and Muslims. Imagine for a moment, the effect of the king, who was the head of the Jagannath temple being converted to Islam, on the general populatirn. But again the society tried to protect itself by contracting further and forming a shell at a lower level. The Paik-Kheda, a manuscript of that time published by the Jagannath Research society contains the instructions to the Paiks as to how they should maintain their tradition in view of the humiliation which the king of Khurda had suffered and the treachery which was rampant.

Fortunately for this lower shell, the Mohammedan rule came to an end and the Bhonslas of Nagpur came. The onslaught on the people on account of religion ceased. The Mohammedan king of Khurda was quietly disposed of and the Hindu rule was restored. But exploitation went on as before. Ruthless exaction from the feudal chiefs was resulting in ruthless

exaction from the peasantry as it was during the Moghal rule. By the end of the eighteenth century prosperous Orissa had become a land of poverty. Peasantry was ruined. That was the time when there was large exodus of Oriya population to Calcutta and other parts of Bengal which were then coming up under the British.

During the Moghal-Marhatta period, it was a curious phenomenon that though the political power was gone and oppression was weighing heavily on the society, the Oriya literature was growing steadily. In a period of this kind, usually saints come out to maintain the natural resistance of the spirit of the Society to the forces of Devil. Tukaram, Nama Dev, Ramdas, Tulsidas, Sri Chaitanya, Nanak and a host of other saints were put forth by the societies as protective angels when they were attacked by enemical forces. In medical science, it is said that at all times the body strives to maintain equilibrium. For instance, if there is infection, the protective glands create inflammation to localise the damage. Similarly in the social body, whenever evil forces attack it, some elements in the society come forward to create protective forces which are regarded as signs of weakness in normal times. We have seen how syncretism in religion, a product of weakness has saved Orissa from complete disintegration. Orissa, however, did not produce any saints as protective angels during the Moghal-Marhatta period. But the works of the angels, the Pancha Sakhas who appeared on the scene at the time of internecine strife in the 15th century, and who were long dead and gone worked miraculously in this period. The Malikas of Achyutananda and others, the Bhagabat of Jagannath Das gave solace to the breaking spirit. Literature was produced to maintain the cohesion of the society. What is now known as ancient Oriya literature, was the product of this dark period, although it does not give even the slightest indication of the conditions prevailing then, as if the writers were living in a different world altogether. In fact, they were living in the shell.

The British period began almost exactly with the 19th century which produced the new force of nationalism in the world, in the wake of Industrial Revolution. The British are Protestant Christians, believing in indivdual freedom of which the Rule of Law is the keystone and democracy is the administrative form. The British period can be divided into three sub-periods, first, apprentice-ship, secondly, benevolent autocracy and thridly, reluctant preparation for departure. The first sub-period lasted for about fifty years till the famous rebellion of 1857 A.D. The second sub-period went upto the end of the 1st World War for about sixty years and the third lasted for about thirty years till 1947.

During the 1st sub-period the British were entering the field of Imperialism and learning through experience the technique of Imperial administration. There were no organised services. Central guidance was defective. The Directors of a private company, the East India Company, were allowed a free hand to expand as they liked and administer the territory as they pleased. The result was corruption and mal-administration on the same scale as it was during the Moghal-Marhatta period. Since there was some inherent strength in the society of the Oriyas there were sharp reactions as the risings in Khurda and Ghumsar. During this period, the British were taking systematic steps to occupy the position of over-lordship not only at the highest level but at lower levels also. They were not satisfied only with taking over the territory from the Marhattas. They did away with the Raja of Khurda also to whom a large number of feudal chiefs used to owe allegiance in the social and religious field. The Chhatrapati of Satara and the Peshwa of Poona were dealt with in similar manner. The British found out that these kings were really social institutions apart from their political positions, and were like strong living roots under the earth to sprout someday under favourable conditions. The institutions, therefore, were uprooted. The feudal chiefs were recognised but they were made powerless. Permanent zamindars were created not only to ensure regular collection of land revenue but also to work as agents of Government in the local areas. But at the same time regular land settlement was made and the tenants got security of their possession which was almost non-existent in the past. This gave satisfaction at the lower level of the society. But the local leadership of the people was destroyed. People worked up to officers and the courts of the British Raj for everything. The greatest damage of a permanent nature to the growth of the society which the British inflicted was that they made it unlawful to possess any kind of arms including even a long knife. Orders were issued not to recruit Oriyas into the Army as they were distrusted for their rebellion in 1816-17. This would have further weakened the society but for the change which came about in the 2nd sub-period.

During this period, the British, following their native Protestant Christian spirit tried to do as much good to the people as possible. Rule of law, liberal education, introduction of democratic ways and institutions were the gifts of the British Government in those days. These helped the regeneration of the society elsewhere but not to the same extent in Orissa. The Oriyas remained scattered in three administrative provinces, Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces and in as many as twenty-six separate administrative units known as princely states. In these small princely states individual rule of the rulers prevailed while in the other parts, rule of law was in force. The fragments of the society of Oriyas living under different conditions could not make much headway.

At this stage again, the element of language exercised its pressure on the society to agitate for the union of all Oriya speaking tracts. By the time Orissa was made a separate Province in 1936, the British had lost interest in the development of India as the growing nationalism was gradually becoming hostile to the British. Although Orissa was made a separate province, the twenty-six princely states of the province remained separate. The British departed finally in 1947 only two years after the 2nd World War. Orissa, thus, could not take advantage of the long standing peceful rule of law to the same extent as the other more favourably placed provinces did. Opportunity came to the Oriyas only after independence in 1947 when free air began to blow in the country, providing scope for every section to grow according to its capacity. Excepting some border areas, all the Oriya speaking tracts came under the same condition of life in 1948. The future age would say how far the Oriyas avail themselves of the opportunities which independent Democratic Republic of India has provided in reviving their growth and what role they play in the revival of India as a great nation of the world.

This is the short analysis of the long history of the Oriyas, showing strength and weakness, factors of unification and of disintegration and marked signs of growth and of decline. I have followed Toynbee in not analysing the history of the kingdom of Orissa, the boundaries of which have changed from time to time. I have tried to analyse the history of the society which according to Toynbee is a certain grouping of humanity which is neither a nation State nor mankind as a whole and about which historical study can be made because of its distinctive character.

I venture to draw some conclusions from the above analysis:—

(a) Administration and the society should be so intimate with each other that there will be no tendency on the part of the society to form a shell. A society living in a shell to protect itself from the vagaries of administration cannot grow.

(b) Culture and lterature are the two great cohesive factors in a society. Culture includes religion which means faith in something higher and nobler according to the conception of the society. Each society has its own way of life which is its culture. Theway of life is determined not by a few but by the multitude. Even though the leadership comes from a few, but it has to be accepted by many. Culture cannot be imposed on a society. Any attempt to do so will create shells.

(c) More attention should be paid to the development of the territory than its expansion.

(d) Dissension in the army is disastrous to the State.

(e) Contact with outside world is helpful to the growth of the society. Confinement to its own surrounding makes the society economically backward and stunt its cultural growth.

Learned scholars have written these volumes according to periods giving as much materials as is available to this date. The same materials may lead to some other analysis in some other hands. But having the honour of being the first in the field to write a consolidated history of Orissa, I thought I should present my analysis to the readers while introducing the volumes written by eminent scholars at the instance of the Utkal University. I thank the authorities of the University for their doing me the honour of associating me with this great work as Chairman of the History Compilation Committee.

May the present and the future generations pay heed to the lessons of History.

Harekrushna Mahtab

(HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB)

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B O.R I. (A.B.R.I.)	Annuals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
A.H.D.	Ancient History of the Deccan by G. Jouveau Dubreuil.
A.I.	Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India).
A.I.H.T.	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, by F.E. Pargiter
Ait. Brā.	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Añgu. N.	Añguttara Nikāya.
A.R S.I.E.	Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.
A.S.I. (A.S.R.)	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
B.E.F.E.O.	Bulletin dl'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, Hanoi.
Br. Sam.	Bṛhat Saṁhitā.
B.S.O.S.	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.
Buddhist Records.	Buddhist Records of the Western World, trans, from the Chinese by Samuel Beal.
C.C.I.M.	Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, by V, A. Smith.
C.G.C. (C.G.D.)	Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, by John Allan.
C.H.I.	Cambridge History of India.
Chand. Up	Chhāndogya Upaniṣad.
C.I.I.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

D.H.N.I.	Dynastic History of North India by H. C. Ray.
Digh. N.	Dīgha Nikāya.
D.K.A.	Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, ed, F. E. Pargiter.
D.I.M.O.	Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa by Pt. B. Misra.
E.H I.	Early History of India, by V.A. Smith (4th ed).
E.H.N.I.	Early History of North India by S. Chattopadhyaya.
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica.
Gerini	Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia, Further India and Indo-Malaya Peninsula, by G. E. Gerini.
I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
I.C.	Indian Culture.
I.H.C.	Indian History Congress.
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
J.A.	Journal Asiatique, Paris.
J.A.H.R.S.	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Jāt. (J)	Jātakas ed, V. Fousboll (also by E. B. Cowell).
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.K.H.R.S.	Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society.
J.I.H.	Journal of Indian History.
J.N.S.I.	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
J.O.I.	Journal of Oriental Institute.

J.O.R.	Journal of Oriental Research.
Jt. P.A.S.B.	Journal and the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
J.R.A.S.B.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
List (Luders)	List of Brāhmī Inscriptions (Appendix to E.I. X).
Majjh. Com.	Majjhima Commentary
Majjh N.	Majjhima Nikāya
M.A.S.I.	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Mbh.	Mahābhārata.
O.B.I.	Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves, by B. M. Barua
O.H.R.J.	Orissa Historical Research Journal.
P.E.	Pillar Edicts
Periplus	The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, ed. W. H. Schroff.
P.H.A.I.	Political History of Ancient India, by H. C. Ray Chaudhuri.
Ptoleny.	Mc. Crindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, ed. S. N. Majumdar Sastri.
P.T.S.	Pali Text Society.
Ram.	Rāmāyaṇa.
R.E,	Rock Edict.
R.V.	Ṛg Veda.
Sat Br.	Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.
S.B.E.	Sacred Books of the East.
S.R.E. (Sp. K.Ed).	Special Rock Edict (Special Kaliñga Edict).
Tārānāth.	Geschichte des Buddhismes in India.

T.S.P.Ch.	**Triṣaṣthi Śalākā Puruṣa Charita, trans. by H. M. Johnson.**
Utt. Dh. Sutra.	Uttarādhyayana Sūtra.
Watters.	On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by T. Watters.
Wilson.	Vishnu Purāṇa, trans. by H. H. Wilson.
Winternitz.	History of Indian Literature by M. Winternitz (English translation).

Diacritical notation

अ	a
आ	ā
इ	i
ई	ī
उ	u
ऊ	ū
ए	e
ऐ	ai
ओ	o
औ	au
ङ , ञ	ṅ
अनुस्वार	ṁ
विसर्ग	ḥ

CORRIGENDA

(**Readers are requested to kindly make the following corrections before going through the pages of this volume.—N. K. S.**)

Page	Line	Misprint.	Please correct as.
48	5	Weatern	Western
88	6,9,17	Somapā	Samāpā
91	22	Kālidāsa	Kālidāsa
101	13	—do—	—do—
101	6	*Purāṇaa*	*Purāṇa*
149	12	sesms	Seemś
152	15	infleunced	influenced
152	16	describes [8]	describes [4]
152	21	territories [4]	territories [5]
153	32	स पुरे	से पुरे
166	28	procarious	precarious
167	18	Krukṣetra	Kurukṣetra
172	2	3rd	8th
229	22	my	may
233	10	4 (foot note)	1
237	11	emire	empire
238	4	Geogrophy	Geography
242	21	victorry	victory
243	32	Hultsh	Hultzsch
244	15	Casualities	Casualties
256	6-7	Jaṁbu, dīpa	Jaṁbudipa
264	3	*Sūtrālaṁakāra*	*Sūtrālaṁkār*
273	6	Baglar	Beglar

283	3	Kālasi	Kālsi
294	1	*Reparate*	*Separate*
310	22	D. C. Sircar	D. C, Sircar [3]
312	15	Banarji [2]	Banerji [3]
312	32	1 (foot note)	2
312	33	2 (foot note)	3
315	14	(Bahastimita)	(Bahasatimita)
328	25	Chaidyoparichra	Chaidyoparichar ı
338	22	49 B. C.	40 B. C.
375	20	Moñchapurī	Mañchapurī
399	15	चैत्य	चैद्य
404	10	वेडुरिय	वेडुरिय
426	10	Haviṣka	Huviṣka
438	21	shoud	should
443	23	above	above.
453	12	Nagā	Nāga
503	9	ef	of

Note :— *i* is printed as ī upto page 320.

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CHAPTER I
Prehistory by G. C. Mohapatra, M. A., Ph. D.

CHAPTER—I

PREHISTORY

I

The process of evolution of man from the stage of primate and advanced ape took shape long after the origin of life in this planet.[1] At the outset he was as good as ordinary animal but in course of time he had to evolve a mode of living very different from that of other creatures. The early part of the story of mankind when man was gradually emerging, physically and mentally, from the status of animal existence is what is known as prehistory. Literally, prehistory means the period which preceded the history of a particular country and therefore is devoid of any sort of written record of events that took place in the remote past. At this stage man was chiefly subsisting on hunting and food gathering and being physically unprotected against the rugged climate and the contemporary monstrous creatures, he was thoroughly exposed to the vagaries of nature. In absence of a permanent home and protection he was then in the habit of constant migration. By virtue of his ever evolving brain, which was superior to that of other animals, man at this early stage started inventing things from time to time in order to meet his most urgent needs and to supplement his physical strength. One of the

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1. The first life on earth was born over 500 million years B. P. during Pre-Cambrian period. It is called as worm-tubes by the palaeontologists. Man was born during Pleistocene period which is the most recent and last of the main geological periods and believed to have started in India about 500,000 years B. P.

first striking inventions of the Early Man was manufacture and use of tools. The capacity of making tools distinguished him from other animals and earned him the name "Man the Tool-Maker". Some other animals no dbout, could use tools but man alone was capable of the conceptual thought necessary for making them with intention. It was this ability which enabled man to control his environments and to advance to the stage he has reached today. Exercising his brain he could make a variety of tools which served many different purposes in his constantly changing mode of living. Since these were mainly made out of stone, this tool-making career of man is now known as the Stone Age which lasted for many thousands of years starting from the Middle Pleistocene period.[1] Information regarding the Stone Age culture is generally obtained from the fossils, the implements and the geological formations in which they occur.

Almost every country of the world has the relics of the Stone Age in some kind or other and the countries from which such finds have not been reported are either of very recently inhabited or those lacking in adequate exploration. The first evidence of the Stone Age culture comes from Europe. In 1838, the discoveries of Boucher de Perthes convinced the world of scholars regarding the great antiquity of the Stone Age by proving the association of the flint implements with a long extinct

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1. The beginning of the Pleistocene period is heralded by the appearance of the Villafranchian fauna i. e. the fossil ancestors of the present day domesticated animals. The whole of Pleistocene has been divided into Lower, Middle and Upper on the basis of fossil evidences and climatic factors like the spreading and receding of the ice-sheets in the colder regions and pluvial and inter-pluvial conditons in the tropics. The first undoubted evidence of Man in India comes from the deposits which belong to the Middle Pleistocene period.

fauna in the old terrace deposits of the Somme in France. The news of Perthes' discovery spread all over the world and scholars in Africa and Asia were inspired to make search for such implements in their respective countries. As a result of this, in 1863 Robert Bruce Foote picked up the first Stone Age implement in India from the laterite pits of Pallavaram near Madras. Just eleven years after this discovery of Foote V. Ball found four stone implements in Orissa from places called Kuḍābagā, Kaliākaṭā, Harichandanpur and Dhenkānāl.[1]

When we look back to the history of the prehistoric research we find that its beginning was almost simultaneous throughout the world. Since the latter half of the last century, when its foundation was laid by ardent zeal and tenacity of a few pioneer scholars, this research has been making a steady progress. In Europe and Africa it has produced very exciting and valuable results which form practically the major part of our knowledge regarding the earlist culture of mankind. Asia, in which detailed investigations were started very late, has recently been found to be one of the most important continents for this research.

In India, hardly a beginning has been made in this field as compared with the amazing progress done in Europe and Africa. However, regions like Gujarat, Karnatak, Madras and Orissa have been found to have contained rich relics of the Stone Age Culture. The line of research in prehistory of Orissa does not differ from that of other parts in India or the world outside and so certain amount of acquaintance with the development of prehistory in other lands is

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1. Ball, V. 'On Stone Implements found in the Tributary States of Orissa', *Proc, Asc. Soc. Beng.* 1876, pp. 122—123.

considered essential prerequisite for a discussion about prehistoric Orissa.

In Europe and Africa, during the past hundred years scholars have brought to light valuable evidences regarding the evolution of material culture of the Early Man along with various climatological and environmental backgrounds against which he had to live right from the beginning of the Pleistocene period. More particularly, in the southern and eastern Africa numerous excavations of various palaeolithic sites have revealed the story of the cultural evolution of man from crude stone flaking to the incipient agriculture and pottery making. Human fossil remains coming out of such excavations or from various other geological formations provide us with the precise idea regarding physical features of the authors of the Stone Age culture. With the help of the fossil skulls and skeletons thus found scholars are now able to trace man's ancestry from the anthropoid apes. Leakey has very recently unearthed the remains of a fossil man whom he calls *Zinjanthropus boisai* (East African man), in association with the Oldowan culture in the Olduvai Gorge in Tanganyika.[1] This discovery is of great importance because it tells us about the man who manufactured almost the earliest type of stone tools in Africa barring those of the Kafuan culture. So far, nowhere the remains of the Kafuan man has been found and hence this fossil, at present, represents the race of the earliest human inhabitants of Africa who lived about 600,000 years B. P. In Europe old terraces of the Somme, the Rhine, the Thames, as well as, many glacial and periglacial deposits including those in the caves and rock shelters have yielded numerous fossilised remains of a type of extinct man called

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1. Leakey, L. S. B. 'Finding the World's Earliest Man', *National Geographic*, Vol. 118. No. 3, Sept. 1960, pp. 420-435.

Homo neanderthalensis or the *Neanderthal man,* the first tool-maker in Europe, along with the relics of various quaternary fauna and flora now totally or partly extinct. The stone tools associated with the *Neanderthal man* are the earliest type found in Europe. After the *Neanderthals* there seems to have been a period in Europe when a different set of people practising altogether a new culture came to live in that continent. Their stone tools show a marked development on those of the *Neanderthals* and in physical traits these people were much different from their forerunners. They are called *Cromagnons* and anthropologists have put them into a separate race known as *Homo sapiens*—the immediate ancestors of the modern man. Thus, apart from the scandalous Piltdown hoax there is yet a hoard of very convincing evidences which help us to reconstruct the story of man's evolution through ages in Europe and Africa.

From the beginning of the present century archaeologists have been making strenuous efforts to throw light on the problem of the origin of Man in Asia. The results have been very encouraging at certain places, notable among which are North China, Java and Palestine. Piecing together the evidences discovered so far in North China, one can very well bring forward a tentative line of evolution of man in this part of the globe. Starting from the *Pithecanthropus pekinensis* it passes through various other stages until it reaches the *Homo sapiens* (modern man). Although somewhat fragmentary, the evidences are derived from many reliable and datable contexts, like the excavation of the cave deposits of Choukoutien and old terrace deposits of the Fenho at Ting Ts'un, Sjaraosso-gol valley and the Sanmen Rapids area, and as such, they stand far beyond any reasonable doubt. The earliest man in North China who was capable of making tools in order to supplement his own physical strength and skill, was the *Pithecanthropus*

pekinensis or *Sinanthropus* whose remains have been dug out of the Choukoutien cave sites. The next one standing morphologically between the *Pithecanthropus* and the *Homo sapiens*, is the Ting Ts'un man whose remains were discovered at locality 54 : 100 near Ting Ts'un. Fossils of *Homo sapiens* were found at Tze-yang, Szechwan, Lung Tung, Ch'ang-yang and Hupei. These fossil remains of different types of man are associated with varying types of fossilised faunal and floral remains, as well as, with the various Stone Age industries. With changing of the climatic and environmental conditions from time to time not only the man but also his culture and sorroundings i. e. the animal and vegetable kingdom, underwent gradual changes slowly evolving and steadily climbing higher up on the ladder of development.

In Java the Early Pleistocene Tjidjalang and Kali Glagah, as well as, the Middle Pleistocene Djetis and Trinil faunas give us a fairly detailed account of the evolution of various species of vertebrates in south-east Asia. The most interesting among them is the *Pithecanthropus erectus* of the Early Pleistocene times. Many scholars assign the earliest types of crude stone tools to these ape-like creatures where as there are many others who do not quite agree with it. Movius for instance, who has done a considerable amount of research on this problem, believes that no archaeological material can be associated with the *Pithecanthropus erectus*.[1] However, apart from this there are other evidences regarding evolution of the Early Man and his Stone Age industries in Java the later phases of which can undoubtedly be assigned to the *Neanderthals* and *Cromagnons*.

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1. Movius, H. L. (*Jr.*), 'The Lower Palaeolithic Cultures of Southern and Eastern Asia', *TAPS*, Vol. 38, pt. 4, pp. 329—420.

Palestine, due to its peculiar geographical position, had been a cradle of the world's most ancient urban civilization. The recent archaeological work in this area has unearthed the remains of the first village where people practised agriculture, domestication of animals, weaving and pottery-making; things required for a permanent type of communal settlement. Even older than this first village, the remains of a palaeolithic (upper) culture with the skeletons of its authors, the *Cromagnon men*, have been dug out from the Late Pleistocene deposits in the caves of the Mt. Carmel. In fact, there are scholars who believe Palestine to be the place of origin of the *Homo sapiens*.[1]

In India so far we have not been able to find out any physical remain of the Early Man though his stone tools occur abundantly almost everywhere. In north-western part of India, in the Potwar region and the Soan Valley, we have a typical pebble-tool culture which typo-technologically corresponds to that of the Choukoutien of north China, Anyathian of Burma, Tampanian of Java and the Oldowan of east Africa. But in the peninsular India we have the handaxe-cleaver industry which is very similar to the Chelles-Acheul industries of Europe and Africa. It is still an unsolved riddle in the Indian pre-history as to what was the cause for such difference between the Stone Age industries of northern and southern India. We do not know whether this difference is due to the difference in terms of time or the races of Early Man. However, there are ample evidences in the Siwaliks of India to show that climate and environment were very favourable during the whole of Pleistocene period for the origin of man in that area. The entire Siwalik formation,

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1. Mc Burney, C. B. M. *The Stone Age of Northern Africa*. 1960. p. 46.

specially the Tatrot and Pinjaur sandstones of the Upper Siwaliks abound in vertebrate remains which represent the fossil ancestors of the present day elephant, horse, cattle, reptiles and a few primates. The whole of Siwaliks is a fresh water deposit and the fauna there is that of ā typical warmer climate. The stone tools in the form of big flakes (Pre-Soan type) occur in the top few feet of the boulder-conglomerate in the Potwar region, overlying the Pinjaur sandstones, which has been dated to the Middle Pleistocene period. Old terraces of the Soan, the Beas and the Sirsa, subsequent to the boulder-conglomerate in age, have yielded Soanian pebble-tools in close proximity to these fossil areas of the Siwaliks. In the valley of the Sirsa, the distance between the vertebrate fossil localities and Stone Age sites is a matter of few yards, as they lie on both the banks of the same river. Still, unfortunately, no trace of the skeletal remains of man who lived in this area during the Stone Age has been found so far although a few animal fossils have been reported from the implementiferous horizons of the boulder-conglomerate. In the peninsular India animal fossils have been found in association with the Stone Age industries at Hosangabād and Narsinghpur on the Narmadā, Nevasā on the Pravarā and Kalegaon on the Godāvarī. Although these fossils belong to the same species as found in the Upper Siwaliks, the associated Stone Age industry presents us with a marked contrast. It has been said above that the peninsular lithic industry is typologically much different from that of north-western India.

Geologically and geographically, Orissa comes under the division of peninsular India and its Early Stone Age industry has been found to be an extension of the great peninsular handaxe-cleaver complex which on the other hand closely corresponds to the Lower Palaeolithic Chelles-

Acheul industries of Europe and Africa. In the hill tracts of Orissa and in its laterite plains these stone implements occur in an incredibly large number, four of which were picked up by Ball as long ago as 1875. The progress of prehistoric research in Orissa presents a miserable picture when compared with that of other states in India. Foote's pioneer work was immediately followed up by a number of young enthusiasts in Madras, Andhra, Karnatak, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Central India whereas in Orissa, after Ball, a period of more than half a century passed without any substantial addition to our knowledge regarding the prehistory of this region. Amateurs like P. Acharya, in the beginning of the present century, collected a number of polished stone celts from a few sites in Mayurbhanj out of which some specimens were presented to the Indian Museum, Calcutta and the rest kept as exhibits in the small museum at Baripada.[1] Being attracted by these finds of Acharya the late Professor R. D. Banerji visited some of these neolithic sites in Mayurbhanj which are vividly described in his book *History of Orissa.*[2] It is only in March 1939 that a really serious research on the prehistory of Orissa was inaugurated when Acharya and E. C. Worman (Jr.) unexpectedly hit upon the famous Early Stone Age sites of Kuliaṇā in Mayurbhanj.[3] The department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, readily picked up this opportunity to start a detailed investigation around kuliaṇā as early as the next month. By a number of excavations conducted during the years 1940-42 and a thorough exploration of the surrounding area including the banks of the river Burhābalang from Kamarpāl

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1. *Annual Report of the A. S. I.* 1923-24, pp. 100-101.
2. Vol. 1, pp. 27-42.
3. Bose, Nirmal Kumar and Dharani Sen *Excavations in Mayurbhanj*, Calcutta University, 1948, p. 2.

to Mahuliā up to 1958, a hoard of very valuable information was obtained which now forms practically the major part of our knowledge regarding the Lower Palaeolithic culture of this part of Orissa.

But apart from this, our knowledge about the prehistory of Orissa remained confined, until recently, to the feeble hints provided by the four implements of Ball. The vast areas beyond Mayurbhanj looked very promising for search about Early Man in Orissa not only because all the four sites of Ball were situated in it but also for the location of these sites in the valleys of the two very old peninsular rivers like the Mahānadī and the Brāhmaṇī. Being thus motivated, we in 1956 took up a systematic exploration of the northern half of Orissa comprising the districts of Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Sundergarh, Sambalpur and the unexplored part of Mayurbhanj.[1] Excepting Sambalpur the rest four districts yielded informations which were more than our average expectations. In the valleys of the Mahānadī, the Brāhmaṇī, the Baitaraṇī, the Burhābalang and the Khaḍkei very rich sites of the Early, Middle and the Late Stone Age cultures were found. By the discovery of the Middle and the Late Stone Age cultures, which were not known so far, the sequence of prehistoric cultures in Orissa became more or less complete and it brought the upper limit of the Stone Age in this region up to the beginning of early historic period.

The results of the work of Nirmal Kumar Bose and Dharani Sen in Mayurbhanj and that of ours in other districts being supplemented by informations gathered by other scholars from time to time, at present forms the bulk of our knowledge regarding the prehistory of Orissa.

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1. *Indian Archaeology, a Review*, 1957-58, p. 41 and 1958-59, p. 36.

Geographical Factors.

The physical geography and the environmental conditions greatly shape the cultural pattern of a region. Though Orissa at present is a linguistically homogenous state, its physical feature, excepting the alluvial coastal belt, has hardly any difference from the neighbouring hilly areas in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. The people, mostly tribals, like the Sānthāls, Muṇḍās, Savaras Juāngs, Parojās, Bhumijs, etc., who live in the hill districts of Orissa have their kith and kin across the state boundaries. The temperature, fauna, flora and rainfall do not present any remarkable variation in these tracts. The food habits, mode of living, language and the socio-religious practices of these tribal people in the hills of Orissa are almost similar to those living in the same environmental conditions in the neighbouring regions outside its borders. There are evidences to show that the hills and the forest regions of western Orissa, Chhatisgarh and south-east Bihar formed a single cultural unit during the early historic times being known as the Mahākāntāra. By the recent prehistoric research done in this area, it has been proved that this cultural inter-relationship was also prevalent during the Stone Ages. This fact is attested by the close similarity of Orissan Stone Age industries with those found at Chakradharpur, Chaibasa, Ranchi and Manbhum. Since there is no evidence of a major earth movement or any such tectonic disturbance in this area any time during the Pleistocene which could have resulted in a considerable change in the topography of the region like the changing of the drainage pattern connected with the raising or submerging of the earth's surface, it can be said that the geographic and environmental conditions during the Stone Ages would have also been almost the same althroughout. Thus, it can well be expected that the cultural succession and the corresponding environmental conditions during the prehistoric

times were more or less uniform in all parts of this area. Although we are handicapped by lack of systematic research, with the help of information gathered so far, it can safely be assumed that the Prehistoric Man once roamed throughout this hilly tract manufacturing and using at a particular time the very same types of stone implements, the remains of which are now found out from identical formations at several sites in this region.

Coming to the coastal districts of Orissa, we find that they are practically barren from the prehistoric point of view. It is because the hill area in which the Stone Age sites are situated represents an old land surface, whereas the plain alluvial area lying near the coast line is a comparatively new formation. Geologists believe that the original shape of the core of coastal plains in Orissa was formed during the upper Jurassic times[1] and the present shape is caused by advancement of the river deltas over the basic rocks during the period between Miocene to Pleistocene. The plain land thus formed by the river deltas is being gradually elevated from the sea level by constant aggradation which is still in progress. The human habitation over this alluvial plain perhaps started only during very recent times which geologically speaking can be called as Holocene. The wampy or marshy land with very little of vegetation was probably the characteristic feature of the coast line of Orissa during the Early and Middle Pleistocene period which had been highly unsuitable for the Early Man to live. Being purely formed out of alluvium it lacked the raw material for his stone implements and perhaps being very thinly covered with vegetation could not provide enough food as well.

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1. Krishnan, M. S. *Geology of India and Burma*, 1956, p. 72.

As a rule, man during the prehistoric period had to live by the side of big rivers and other similar perennial supply of water and used the valleys of the rivers as a sort of thoroughfare for migration in search of fresh field and pastures new. The broad and fertile valleys of big rivers like the Mahānadī and the Brāhmaṇī could have provided ideal conditions for the pre-historic people to live and migrate as they wished. We know that contact between two groups of people leads to diffusion of culture through exchange of ideas, and similarly, due to favourable environmental conditions prehistoric folks roamed freely in the hilly region of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh making contacts with one another and exchanging mutual ideas as a result of which we find the lithic industries in the upper reaches of the above rivers with their tributaries in the Madhya Pradesh or Bihar, in close resemblance with those in their lower reaches in Orissa. Very probably the centre from which the diffusion started situated somewhere at the middle of this hilly area near about Bihar and Orissa borders and in due course spread towards different directions.

Time Scale

Apart from Africa and certain areas in south-eastern England and western Europe, no human cultures are known from lower pleistocene deposits in any part of the world. However, as discussed above there are scholars who believe that advanced ape-like creatures *(Pithecanthropus erectus)* who lived in Java during the lower pleistocene times made use of stone tools. The fact has not yet been proved beyond doubt[1] and at present the Middle Pleistocene period is

1. See *Supra*, p. 6.

generally accepted to be the time when man definitely lived almost all over the world. From the Potwar region, as well as, from the valley of the Soan and the Narmadā, Lower Palaeolithic or Early Stone Age industries have been discovered from a deposit datable to the Middle Pleistocene by the evidence of animal fossils and Pleistocene climatic cycles. During the past few years Lower Palaeolithic industries, resmbling those of the Narmadā valley, have been found out almost everywhere in India excepting the Indo-Gangetic Doab, Assam and the extreme south. The date of this industry has been further confirmed by the discovery of a few more Middle Pleistocene animal fossils from the implementiferous gravel deposit at Nevāsā and Kālegāon.[1] A closer examination of the Early Stone Age industries of Orissa reveals that these are not only similar to those of the Narmadā valley and other fossiliferous localities of the peninsular India in typology and technique but also are quite identical in their stratigraphic contexts. The tool-bearing horizon i. e. the coarse cemented gravel at the bottom of the cliff sections and the secondary laterite pits, present almost uniform characteristics everywhere in India. This close similarity between the Orissan Early Stone Age industries and the Lower Palaeolithic industries of the fossiliferous sites in other areas suggest Middle Pleistocene as the most probable date of the earliest human habitation in Orissa. This tentative and comparative dating of the Early Stone Age industries of Orissa would continue to hold good until and unless we find some very convincing data from independent sources to suggest a different dating. So far no fossil

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1. Sankalia, H. D. 'Animal Fossils and Palaeolithic Industries from the Pravarā Basin, District Ahmadnagar', *Ancient India*, No. 12,1956. pp. 35-52 and *Indian Archaeology, a Review* 1955-56. p. 5.

or any other type of evidence helpful for positive dating has been found out from the horizons yielding the Stone Age tools in Orissa. However, mention may be made of the discovery of a bovid-tooth at Mukramātiā in Mayurbhanj from a layer of clay under the implementiferous gravel layer on the bank of the Burhābalang.[1] The appearance of bovid marks the beginning of the Pleistocene period all over the world. Hence, the layer in which the tooth occurs may be ascribed to the Early Pleistocene times whereas the implementiferous gravel layer above it may be considered as a later formation; presumably Middle Pleistocene. The peninsular handaxe-cleaver industry to which Orissa also belongs has a close similarity with the Middle Pleistocene Lower Palaeolithic Abbevillio-Acheulian industries of Europe and Africa. But unlike Africa and some parts of Europe there is no evidence in Orissa of a culture which flourished during the Lower Pleistocene times.[2] The Early Stone Age in Orissa perhaps ended with the end of the Middle Pleistocene period whereas the Middle Stone Age covered the whole period of the Upper Pleistocene. The Late Stone Age cultures comprising the microliths and neoliths are purely Holocene in age, the microliths being earlier to the neolithic polished stone celts.

Stratigraphy and Climatic Conditions :—

Climatic conditions have a direct bearing on the cultural pattern of man and his environments. Hence to understand the evolution of the Stone Age cultures it is very

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1. Sarma, K. C. 'On the Palaeontology of the Paripada Beds, Mayurbhanj. Orissa' *Quart. Journ. Geol. Min. Met. Soc of India*, Vol. 28, 1956.
2. The Kafuan and Oldowan Cultures of Africa and the Ipsvician, Norvician and Cromerian of Europe.

essential to understand the meteorological condition in which the authors of these cultures had to live. The Pleistocene period is marked by very severe climatic fluctuations. The retreat and advance of the ice-sheets in the colder regions and the wet and dry conditions in the tropics during this time have left enough of evidence on the surface of the earth from which we are now able to reconstruct the environmental set up during the Pleistocene period. Associated with the deposits resulting from these climatic changes are the relics of the Early Man. Orissa, being situated in a semi-tropical region, experienced alternately wet and dry climate during this time. Under such circumstances its rivers aggraded or eroded their banks and the surface of the land underwent considerable changes due to intense weathering. So the cultural relics of the Stone Age man who was living in Orissa by this time got imbeded in the deposits formed during the period. These deposits are now found in the shape of either the implementiferous terraces of the rivers or the secondary laterite pits.

The succession of the Stone Age cultures in Orissa is known from the order in which they occur in a particular formation. For instance, in the river cliff-sections different layers of gravel, silt and clay are seen which contain the relics of the various lithic industries. According to the principle of stratigraphy, if such a section is a continuously aggradational terrace of the river, the lowest layer along with its cultural contents becomes the oldest in age and the successive layers above it are comparatively younger. From the evidence of the composition and the matrix of a particular layer containing a lithic industry, the climatic condition during the time of that industry can well be known. From about thirtytwo implementiferous river-cliff-sections and laterite pits, informations have been derived regarding the succession of the

cultures and climatic conditions during the Stone Age in Orissa.[1]

At the bottom of the cliff-sections of many small and big rivers a deposit of coarse cemented gravel laying over a layer of clay or the bed-rock is seen which contains the tools of the Early Stone Age. The other context in which these tools also occur is the gravel pits of the detrital secondary laterite at Kuliaṇā and Tālcher areas. Loose Early Stone Age tools have also been found from the hill-slopes, fields and the gravel bed of the rivers. The tools belonging to the Middle Stone Age industries generally come from a layer of fine gravels occuring above a layer of red silt which in turn underlies the coarse gravels. At Boṇāi these tools have been dug out of the gravel pits which are mainly composed of lateritic ferruginous nodules known as murram. The tool bearing horizon in these pits (top two feet) occurs above a formation of the secondary laterite which is unimplementiferous unlike those at Kuliaṇā and Tālcher. These murrams are perhaps the highly weathered form of the underlying secondary laterite. The microliths and the polished stone celts (neoliths) of the Late Stone Age culture occur on the surface and in the dried up bed of the rivers and small streams. Up till now no microlith in Orissa has come out from any stratified context, neither from the excavations nor the river cliff-sections.

In the following Table details regarding the different layers of five selected river cliff-sections along with the associated Stone Age industries have been given in order

1. Mohapatra, G. C.—*The Stone Age Cultures of Orissa* Poona, 1962 pp. 51-56.

to facilitate a clear understanding of the succession of the cultures and the nature of different types of deposits in which they are found. These sections have been observed not only by us,[1] but also by F. E. Zeuner[2] and N. K. Bose and his colleagues[3]. Apart from these we have observed nearly thirty more small and big cliff sections of the Mahānadī, the Brāhmaṇī, the Baitaraṇī, the Burhābalang and the Khaḍkei and their innumerable tributaries[4]. Excepting a few minor differences, which are due to extremely local phenomena, all these sections, when compared with each other, reveal almost uniform characteristics althroughout. Ofcourse, all the sections do not always give us a complete sequence. There are places where only the later or the earlier few deposits occur. But with the help of careful observation of a few complete sections we have been able to correlate these incomplete sections and bring out a full picture of the stratigraphic sequence.

Again, with the help of the competent observations made by Zeuner and Bose in Mayurbhanj the task of correlating the Pleistocene deposits and the Stone Age industries of Mayurbhanj with those outside it has become considerably easier. At present the correlated general stratigraphy of the Pleistocene river valley deposits of Orissa stands as follows:

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1. Mohapatra, G. C. *op. cit.*,
2. Zeuner, F. E. 'Das Problem der Pluvialzeiten', *Geologischen Rundschan, Bd.* 41, 1953, p. 21, Fig. 5.
3. Bose Nirmal Kumar, Dharani Sen & Gautam Sankar Ray. Geological and Cultural Evidences of the Stone Age in Mayurbhanj, *Man in India*, Vol. 33, no. 1., 1953, pp. 49-55.
4. Mohapatra, G. C. *op. cit.*, pp. 37-50

Five selected river cliff-sections of Orissa showing different types of Pleistocene deposits with associated Stone Age industries and probable climatic condition as deduced from the nature of the deposits.

Brāhmaṇī Bhāli-tuṇḍī*	Baitaraṇī Ramlā*	Burhābalang			Climate
		Pratāppur*	Kamarpāl (Zeuner)	Kamarpāl (Bose & Sen)	
Red silt	Red silt	Red silt	—	—	Dry
Fine gravels	Fine gravels *Middle Stone Age Industry*	Fine gravels	—	—	Wet
Red silt	Red silt & sand	Red silt	Brown-red silt Red-brown silt	Alluvium	Dry
Cemented coarse gravel *Early Stone Age Industry*	Cemented coarse gravel	Cemented coarse gravel *Early Stone Age Industry*	Cemented gravel	Boulder-conglomerate *Early Stone Age Industry* Compact laterite not continuous (?)	Wet
Mottled-clay	—	Mottled-clay	Mottled-clay Bluish-white clayey silt	Greyish-blue clay	Dry
Water level	Water level	Water level	Lime-stone	Hard calcareous bed	pre-Pleist-ocene

(The pre-Pleistocene bed-rock like the lime-stones and calcareous bed at Kamarpāl is not visible due to water at Bhālituṇḍi, Ramlā and Pratāppur. The fine gravels yielding the Middle Stone Age tools and the silt above it do not occur at Kamarpāl. The primary laterite representing the first wet-phase so far has not been recorded in any of the river cliff-sections).

* Recorded by Zeuner, F. E. 1953, *op. cit.*
Nirmal Kumar Bose, Dharani Sen and Gautam Shankar Ray 1958 *op. cit.*
G. C. Mohapatra, *op. cit.*

1. Form this layer at Mukramātiā a bovid tooth has been repoted which is dated at Lower Pleistocene by K. C. Sarma. See *Supra* p. 14.

Above the pre-Pleistocene bed rock, occur in succession layers of (1) mottled clay, (2) cemented coarse gravels with Early Stone Age tools, (3) red silt, (4) fine gravels with Middle Stone Age tools and (5) red silt. Both the deposits of red silt are unimplementiferous. The five typical cliff-sections described in the above Table would give an idea about this correlation all at a glance. It has been already said that the secondary laterite of Orissa is at places, very rich in Stone Age relics. Its origin is due to the intense weathering of the surface of the primary laterite at a period when the climate was alternately and severely wet and dry. Since the primary laterite is taken to be an Upper Pliocene to Lower Pleistocene formation, the redepositon of its weathered portions in the form of secondary laterite could not have taken place earlier than the Middle Pleistocene time. It was probably during the wet period, which led to the weathering of the surface of the primary laterite subsequently to be flown down and laid over the shallow pits and low-lying areas as the secondary laterite, that the coarse gravels in the river cliff-sections were also doposited. Therefore, we now find identical types of stone tools in both these formations. In consideration of the climatic factors for their formation and the age of lithic industries contained in them, both secondary laterite and coarse gravels may be said to be contemporaneous to one another.

It has been already mentioned that due to absence of fossil evidences in Orissa, the archaeologist has to depend solely on the composition of various formations connected with different Stone Age industreis for reconstruction of its prehistoric environmental condition. While doing so, we have to cope with the current theory of alternately dry and wet periods which have been worked out in other well-worked tropical and sub-tropical regions inside India and abrord. At present we do not have equivalent number of

climatic phases and sub-phases during the Pleistocene in Orissa as it is in the case of East and South Africa, nor we have such evidences to call our wet-phases pluvial and the following dry-phases interpluvial. In Orissa, it seems, during the whole of Pleistocene there had been three wet-phases which were separated by three dry-phases. The second and the third wet-phases are connected with the Early and the Middle Stone Age industries respectively.

The beginning of the Pleistocene period, when man was absent in this region, had a very wet climate which led to the formation of the primary laterite (or atleast a part of it)[1]. This first wet-phase, to some extent, can be called as pluvial. Very likely the first man lived in Orissa towards the close of the following dry-phase (i. e. the 1st dry-phase) and the beginning of the second wet-phase represented by the mottled clay and cemented coarse gravel and the secondary laterite respectively, which is attested by the presence of his stone implements in the latter two formations. Like other places in the world, in Orissa also, this first man might have lived during the Middle Pleistocene times. Following the second wet-phase there had been another dry-phase (2nd) which is corroborated by the thick layer of red silt above the coarse gravels. This red silt is totally unimplementiferous which may indicate that the Early Stone Age man discontinued to live in this area; either became extinct or migrated to other suitable places by the time when the second wet-phase was dwindling down after attaining its climax. Therefore this silt deposit above the gravels does not contain any record of human habitation in this area. Following this dry-phase there had been

1. A similar theory has been put forward by Cammiade and Burkitt regarding the south-eastern coast of India. See Cammiade, L. A. and M. C. Burkitt, 'Fresh light on the Stone Ages in South-east India' *Antiquity* vol. IV., 1930, pp. 327-39.

another wet-phase (3rd) in which a layer of graevl has been laid over the first silt. Tools of the Middle Stone Age culture have been found from this layer, which suggests the presence of the people of this culture in this region towards the close of the second dry-phase and the beginning of the third wet-phase. The last and the third dry-phase is represented by the huge deposit of red silt at the top and this phase in all probability, continues till today. The microliths and the polished stone celts found loose lynig over the surface and dry river beds might belong to this dry-phase.

It may be concluded that the Pleistocene climate started with a highly wet-phase, the intensity of which has ever since been gradually dwindling down notwithstanding minor oscillation from time to time which is attested by the presence of the coarse material below and the finer one at the top in the river cliff sections.

II

Early Stone Age Culture.

The extent and distribution pattern of this culture in Orissa is clearly seen from the location of its sites.[1] From this it seems that man, during this time, lived on the open laterite plains and thinly forested areas which were situated in the upland regions bordering the alluvial plains. It has been said above that the coastal districts of Orissa were perhaps not suitable for habitation, a fact attested by the absence of sites of this culture in that area.

The tools of this culture, occuring in the secondary laterite pits and cemented coarse gravels of the river sections, are generally made out of coarse grain quartzite. The

1. See Appendix I.

most popular raw material, which seems to have been available in plenty to the Early Stone Age man, was perhaps the river worn quartzite pebbles. However, a fairly large number of tools have also been made out of big chunks of rocks presumably quarried from local out-crops. Quartzite used as raw material, shows a variety of shades like red, purple, grey, white, greenish, blackish, brown etc. Other rocks which have also been used for the manufacture of these tools are the red ochre variety of jasper and the milky vein quartz. But their percentage, in comparison to those made out of quartzite, is very insignificant.

Hand-axe, cleaver, scraper, point, discoid, irregularly flaked pebbles and irregularly flaked bifaces are the main tool-types. Cores and flakes also occur in suitable proportions. Majority of the tools are made bifacially. The percentage of flakes and flake-tools in our personal collection is 36. 75[1] all of which show an unprepared wide angle platform. Patination of any form is not seen on any of the tools. A type of red ferruginous staining and white calcareous incrustations are seen over the tools coming from the secondary laterite pits and the cemented gravel layers respectively. The physical condition of the tools found in situ, i. e. either from the laterite pits or river cliff sections, is generally more fresh and less weathered or rolled than those found loose. It is not possible to find out the relative ages of the tools by means of their condition of preservation or patination.

There are tools in our collection which superficially resemble the pre-Chellean pebble-tools of Africa (Oldowan). Since they occur in one gravel layer (sometimes not more than three feet in thickness) along with very developed tools comparable to the late-Acheulian of Europe we are

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1. Mohapatra, G. C. *op. cit.* p. 61.

not in a position to put them as the earliest tools of Orissa as it has been done in Africa. On the other hand we include these pebble-tools within the handaxe-cleaver industry of Orissa until and unless we find out a separate stratigraphic horizon for them antedating that of the handaxes and cleavers. There are scholars who believe that since these pebble-tools typologically resemble the Soanian pebble choppers and chopping-tools, Orissa may be regarded as one of the places where the pebble chopper-chopping tool tradition of north-western India met that of the handaxes and cleavers of the peninsula. This is a hypothesis which is neither based on the stratigraphic nor typo-technological evidences. As shown above the so-called Orissan Soanian pebble-tools have no separate stratigraphic existence of their own. Adding to this, technologically majority of them show very haphazard flaking the technique of which ranges from block-on-block to the soft-cylinder hammer which means that they had been made althroughout the Early Stone Age period side by side with the handaxes and cleavers. Though a few of them are really choppers, the majority show no secondary trimming or marks of use which suggests that they were never intended to serve as regular tools. The working-edge, as a result of the haphazard flaking, presents a very ill-defined outline and the tool as a whole presents the appearance of a core rather than that of a typical Soanian chopper. Excluding those which display the characteristics of a chopper, the rest of these flaked pebbles are non-descript as regards their probable use. They form 7.00 % of our total collection of the Early Stone Age tools.[1] Hence, taking into consideration the relative frequency, typology, technique and stratigraphy, we are inclined to regard these pebble-tools as the part and parcel of the handaxe-cleaver industry of Orissa the technique of manufacture of which also underwent changes

1. Mohapatra, G. C. *op, cit.*, p. 91.

from time to time, so clearly manifested in the handaxes and cleavers ranging from the crude to the most developed ones. For the reasons stated above we have named these pebble-tools as irregularly flaked pebbles. Most probably some of these irregularly flaked-pebbles are the unfinished handaxes, cleavers or scrapers. We have a few unifacial handaxes one surface of which retains the full pebble cortex. If somehow or other, one of these specimens had to remain unfinished it would now be difficult to decide as to whether it would be called a Soanian pebble-chopper or an Abbevillian or Acheulian unfinished handaxe. So, before deciding to call a flaked pebble in a peninsular industry as Soanian, the technique and its relative frequency in the collection should first be taken into account.

It has been already hinted that both the crude and the developed types of tools occur in one and the same layer and there are no means to bring out their gradual evolution in form, technique and typology in terms of stratigraphy. However, from the technological analysis of the tools it is seen that in Orissa all the stages of the technical development in the stone tool making have taken place as those that characterise the Abbevillian, Clactonian, Acheulian and Mousterian industries of Europe. Hence, it will not be totally premature to state that there had been a gradual development of tchnique in Orissa like that in Europe or anywhere else during the Early Stone Age, though at present we lack the details.

In Orissa we do not have any such distinct flake industry which can be compared either with the Clactonian or the Levalloisian of Europe. Prepared flakes and cores are conspicuous by their absence. The Orissan Early Stone Age industry is essentially a bifacial one in which flakes occur in a suitable proportion. They do not represent a cultural trait distinct from that of the bifaces.

Handaxes which predominate the whole collection show both crude and developed techniques. But the cleavers which are relatively few show better flaking technique than the crudest of the handaxes. Hence we are inclined to ascribe an younger age to the cleavers than those handaxes which display the crudest technique. Excepting a few the majority of the scrapers are made by the cylinder-hammer technique which on the other hand may suggest their very late origin, probably along with the handaxes which are comparable to those of the middle to Late Acheulian of Europe. They are usually made out of flakes and comparatively smaller in dimensions. The points display such techniques which are only found in the manufacture of developed Acheulian 'S' twist handaxes and small discoids and scrapers. They may represent the last phase of development of the Early Stone Age industry. But on the whole this industry is predominated by the tools which show a mediocre skill of tool-making comparable to the late Abbevillian to Early Acheulian industries of Europe.

The handaxes have the shapes of pear, almond, oval, pick-like, triangular, cordate, biconical, sub-triangular and the like. The majority of the cleavers are 'U' shaped but a few also display a shape which is very close to 'V'. All the scrapers excepting one belong to the group of side-scrapers which are mostly made on flakes. The one is a hollow or concave-scraper. Points which are made on flakes are mostly unifacial with retouches confined to the tip region only. There are a few bifacial points which are extensively flaked from both the surfaces. The discoids are very few but generally show a developed workmanship.

Experimetns have shown that an handaxe can be used for many purposes. With its help one can dig, cut

and chop, kill animal (either holding it in hand or throwing it as a missile) and scrap the skins. Hence, their is no doubt that it was very popular at a time when the skill of manufacturing different types of tools to suit various specialised purposes was not invented. As the technique developed semispecialised tools like the cleaver and the crude scraper and point were invented. But even then the handaxes did not loose their popularity or demand. Rather with the development of the technique they were made more skilfully and in a larger number. That is why we find them in such a large quantity in every Early Stone Age site ranging from the crudest to the most developed form. The names of the other tool-types have been coined according to their supposed use. A cleaver is a good implement to cut wood, whereas the points were intended to be used as missiles (or arrow-heads). Small discoids and scrapers were probaly used at home for preparing things for domestic use like making dresses out of hide, skin and bark.

On the whole the Early Stone Age was a period of technical non-specialisation. Since the needs of the very earliest man were simple, his tools, which were nothing more than the outcome of his needs and designed to serve the most basic requirements, were very simple too. Man during this time was perhaps not aware of a life other than that of the hard struggle for existence. The smaller tools of the Middle and the Late Stone Age periods which were much specialised and meant for more finer work speak of a type of life much different from that of the Early Stone Age. The delicately made handaxes towards the last phase of the Early Stone Age industries testify to the fact that man by that time not only mastered the stone flaking technique but also had developed an eye for beauty, proportion and perfection. This aesthetic growth in him is no way less significant than his technical developments.

It is seen in a better form in later cultures when very fine stone implements were made by the Upper Palaeolithic man in Europe not only to earn his food or protect his family from the enemies but also to satisfy his love for beauty and perfection. This spontaneous growth of artistic faculties urged him to devote a part of his leisure to drawing and engraving of pictures of the contemporary wild and domestic life on the walls of his rock-shelters, on his wooden or ivory tools and produce the sculptured replica of his own kind. These artistic creation of Early Man, though have not been so far found in Orissa, have been discovered from places in the neighbourhood like Morhana Pahar and Singhanpur in the form of paintings in red ochre on the walls of the caves. The classic examples of these art objects of Prehistoric Man come from various Upper Palaeolithic cave dwellings of Europe like Altamira in Spain and Laussel in France.

We have no evidence to show when exactly the Prehistoric Man learnt use of fire in Orissa, neither we know anything about his food habits. His home was most probably situated in the open country. "In a permanent tropical climate there was no need to retire into dark and wet caves, inhabited by bats, snakes, evil spirits and scorpions".[1] In Europe and other cold places it was the severe climate of the glaciations that forced the Early Man to take shelter in the caves defying these evils. In Orissa such cold climatic conditions had never occurred. The humid conditions which took place during this period was too mild to be called as pluvial in its strict sense. Therefore, it is quite but natural that we find the sites of this culture situated in open plains in an altitude ranging between 600 to 1200 feet above the mean sea level.

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1. Koenigswald G. H. R. von. The discovery of Early Man in Java and South China', *Studies in Physical Anthropology 1* (Edited by W. W. Howells 1949.).

It is also probably due to the warm climatic condition that the use of fire by the prehistoric folk in Orissa was more delayed than in north, northeastern Asia[1] and Europe where cold necessitated the harnessing of fire as a source of providing warmth. His food might have been mainly consisted of vegetables including the roots and the bulbs. For digging such edible roots pointed handaxes, as well as, ordinary pointed wooden sticks were perhaps used. Meat diet was difficult to obtain at a time when man was not very skilled in hunting. At this time he was perhaps a scavanger consuming the flesh of the animals which had either died a natural death or were killed and left half eaten by other animals. Of course, he would also have eaten the frogs, insects and worms as well. It is only during later times, when in a group he could drive the huge beasts to some treacherous water logged area or deep pits and kill them at his leisure, that he had his own independent supply of meat. This co-operative hunting might have given birth to a sort of language, limited to cries, gestures and signals and a fellow feeling between the individuals on which later on the foundations of a settled community life were laid ultimately leading to modern civilization.

Middle Stone Age Culture.

This culture is characterised by the tools generally made out of flakes which are smaller in dimension than those of the Early Stone Age. Though a large number of these tools were collected from many parts of India right from the time of Foote, it is only since past few years that they have been accepted as having a separate cultural entity

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1. There are evidences that the Lower Palaeolithic Choukoutien Man of Noth China used fire inside his caves. So also the Upper Palaeolithic Cromagnon Man of Mt. Carmel in Palestine.

distinct from that of the handaxes and cleavers. Previously they used to be regarded as the by-products of the Early Stone Age industries, a fact which has been fully refuted when this industry as a whole was found to have a different raw material, stratigraphy, typology and technique with a distribution pattern as wide as that of the handaxes and cleavers.

Unfortunately a correct terminology for this culture could not be worked out so far. It has been named as Middle Palaeolithic, Series II, Nevasian and Blade and Burin Industry etc. The use of the term Middle Palaeolithic to designate this culture in Orissa has various limitations. The terms like the Lower, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic, whereever used, have a strict chronological bearing apart from their typological and technological distinctions.[1] There is no industry in Orissa which can be called as Upper Palaeolithic. The industry which succeeds that of the smaller flake-tools in Orissa belongs to the Microlithic culture which has no characteristic of the Upper Palaeolithic cultures of Europe or Africa whatsoever. Lastly these smaller flake-tools have very little resemblance with those of the well known Middle palaeolithic cultures of Europe. Although the Early Stone Age industries of Orissa can, to some extent, be called Lower Palaeolithic, the three-fold division in its palaeolithic cultures in the European sense is not possible due to lack of a clear chronology, absence of the Upper Palaeolithic culture and the typo-technological dissimilarity between the lithic industries of Europe and Orissa after the Lower Palaeolithic. Hence the use of the term Middle Palaeolithic for this culture seems highly inadequate and premature at the present state of our knowledge. The term Series II was used by Sankalia[2] in order to distinguish these

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1. Garrod A. D. E. 'Upper Palaeolithic in the Light of Recent Discovery' *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, n. s. vol. IV. pt. I. 1938 p. 2.
2. Sankalia, H. D. op, cit.

tools from the handaxes and cleavers which he called as Series[1] in the Maharashtra-Karnatak region. This was done when the exact characteristics of this culture were not known. Now he uses the term Middle Palaeolithic and Nevasian in the same context[1]. The term Nevasian has been derived from its type-site at Nevasa on the river Pravarā in the Ahmadnagar district of Maharashtra. To use this term for this industry in Orissa awaits closer comparison between the two industries. Blade and Burin Industry[2] is a typological term which has its own limitations. As for instance this term may be applied to any industry having such tool-types without adhering to any particular culture or technique. Hence due to various drawbacks involved in the use of these terms and specially the absence of the three fold divisions in the Palaeolithic in Orissa which does not permit us to use the term Middle Palaeolithic,we propose to use a broad term like the Middle Stone Age for this culture in Orissa which if needed, can be modelled to any extent in order to accommodate new industries or new data coming out in course of future research, like that in South Africa. It should be noted that this term has nothing to do with that of the Mesolithic which also means Middle Stone Age.

It has been mentioned previously that tools of this industry occur in the layer of fine gravels in the river cliff-sections and the murram pits above the secondary laterite at Bonai. The clear cut stratigraphic horizon of this industry which is separated from that of the Early Stone Age by a gap of red silt in the river sections not only suggests a considerable lapse of time between the two cultures but also a climatic condition which was different from that of the earlier one. Although the fine gravels in which the tools of this culture

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1. Sankalia. H. D. & others *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa* 1960, p. 105.
2. Todd. K. R. U. 'Palaeolithic Industries of Bombay' *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol LXIX. 1939, pp. 257-72.

are found signify a humid climate, its intensity was perhaps far less than that during the formation of the coarse gravels; a fact, attested by the comparative thinness of the layer and the smaller size of the gravels.

Generally rocks of fine grain were used for the manufacture of the Middle Stone Age tools. It seems that the authors of this culture had a fair knowledge about the unsuitability of the coarse grain quartzite for manufacture of these finer and smaller flake-tools. Apparently they well understood the cleavage and the granular structure of the rocks. Chert, jasper, opal and fine grain quartzite were the main raw materials of this industry.[1] The coarse grain quartzite, which had been the most dominating raw material during the whole of the Early Stone Age period, has been avoided in this industry as far as possible. This clear distinction between the raw materials of both the industries stands on the way of those who think these smaller flake tools to be the by-products of the earlier culture.

During the Early Stone Age handaxes, cleavers, a few scrapers and crude points were all which man needed for his day to day activities. In fact none of them was a specialised tool and they could be used for any type of work. With a small population and plentiful supply of game these unspecialised tools would have sufficed during the Early Stone Age. But the tool types which we come across in the Middle Stone Age industries are generally meant for serving one purpose only which not only means that man had then developed his skill in tool-making but also had started specialising under pressure of his diverse needs arising out of the scarcity and competition. Although the small flakes

1. Mahapatra, G. C. 'Jasper as Raw Material for Stone Age Artifacts in Eastern India', *Man in India*, vol. 41, no. 1, Jan-March 1961, pp. 55-59.

detached in the process of an handaxe would have been used as a scraper during the Early Stone Age, in the Middle Stone Age period flakes were specially made and retouched to serve as a scraper. Similarly borers, burins, blades, points and various types of scrapers were specially made to serve particular purposes at home also in war or chase. There are evidences that handaxes and other bigger tools were still made, though not in large number, perhaps to serve heavy works like digging, cutting and chopping.[1]

The end and side-scrapers were probably used for dressing leather for clothing, whereas the hollow or concave-scrapers were used as spoke-shaves. Burins, either of chisel or gouge type, were perhaps meant for engraving on wood, bone and ivory and borers or awls were used for perforating hides and skins. Blades might have been used as knives and side-scrapers, whereas the points were generally mounted either as arrow-heads or spear-heads and used as missiles. Mounting these points on a shaft of wood or bone was probably done with the help of gum or sinews. The gum could be obtained from plants and trees in the forest. John Smith's report about manufacture of gums to mount the stone or glass points by the Indians of Virginia is very interesting. He points out that "with the sinews of deer and the tops of deer's horns boiled to a jelly they make a glew which will not dissolve in water".[2] In Orissa the primitive people would have taken resort to a similar device to mount their implements because mounting by the help of gum or resin is inevitable in the case of composite tools. During the Microlithic period we would see

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1. At Bijātalā in Mayurbhañj very fine handaxe along with a numb r of big hand-points have come out of the same layer yielding the Middle Stone Age tools. (*The Stone Age Cultures of Orissa, p. 46*).
2. Hewitt J. 'Note on a Fire-Flint of Strandlooper Origin' *Transactions of Royal Society of South Africa*, X, pt I, 1921, p, 52.

that majority of the tools were made to be hafted in a composite fashion either on a bone or wood-handle.

Quite a number of bone and wood implements might have been used by these people. Due to their comparative fragility these tools perhaps did not survive. Among other natural products which the Middle Stone Age Man in Orissa might have used mention may be made of skin, sinew, horn, ivory, bark, resin, gum, reeds and leaves. It is perhaps the increased use of other materials besides stones, as well as, the development of specialised tool-types that brought a deterioration in the standard of stone work during this period. The majority of the tools show a very poor standard of workmanship. It is not that advanced technique was not known to these people, rather there are a few specimens on which one finds the marks of pessure flaking and such other advanced tool-making techniques. But such tools are very few in comparison to those which are half or crudely finished. At first all the flakes were detached by the cylinder-hammer or soft cylinder-hammer technique and retouched afterwards. Majority of them show a plain wide angle platform detached directly from the core without removing the cortex. Prepared platfrom flakes are very few. They form 3.43% of the total number of flakes and flake-toos.[1] There is not a single prepared core (tortoise core) reported from Orissa so far. In the finished specimens retouches are always marginal. Where the flake provides a naturally sharp edge or tip, retouches are replaced by small and minute indentations. Flaking is mainly unifacial and generally the main flake surface is left unworked. Very few specimens show secondary flaking on both the surfaces. Retouches are confined to vitally important regions like the tip of the point, borer and burin, and the edges of the scrapers. At the first glance these tools present a

1. Mohapatra, G. C. 1962, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

crude appearance. They are roughly finished just inorder to meet the bare necessities. Of course, a few specimens are beautifully worked but they never betray the overall standard of workmanship. On average it is somewhat mediocre. The authors of this culture took very little trouble to make all their tools perfect inspite of the fact that they did not lack in technical knowledge to do so. As pointed out before, it is perhaps due to the other raw materials besides stone used for tool-making that man during this period did not care much for those made out of stone and thus lost the lithic practice. Although this industry is predominated by the tools made out of flakes, those made out of suitable nodules and cores also occur in due proportion (about 13% each).

Life during this period was somewhat different from that of the Early Stone Age, and the differance was due to advancement in skill and technique of hunting. Perhaps man during this time was using the bow and arrow and instead of going naked had skin and hide clothing and used various other materials besides stones for his implements. Although still a hunter and food-gatherer depending solely on nature, he could probably have more of meat diet due to his advanced technique in hunting. The new types of tools might have given him a considerable control over his surroundings as well.

From the distribution of sites we find that this culture had somewhat a separate area of its own, slightly to the west of that of the Early Stone Age.[1] The microlithic industries are also found in this area often occuring together with the tools of this culture in the same site. The Middle Stone Age sites generally are not found in the area of the Early Stone Age industries mainly because of the scarcity of

1. See Map and Appendix-

suitable raw material. They occur in western Orissa where raw materials like jasper, chert and opal occur in plenty along with many other secondary minerals. The fact that the microliths are also made out of these raw materials explains their occurence together in the same site. The area of the Early Stone Age industry consists of the laterite plains with thin forest cover immediately bordering the coastal alluvium the elevation of which is not more than seven hundred feet from the mean sea-level. In this are situated the Permo-carboniferous Gondwana coal seam of Talcher and the broad valleys in the middle reaches of the Mahānadī, Brāhmaṇī, Baitaraṇī and Burhābalaṅg.

Late Stone Age Culture

It has been said before that the Middle Stone Age in Orissa coterminates with the Upper Pleistocene. Since the Late Stone Age cultures stratigraphically succeed the Middle Stone Age they may fall within the next geological period which is known as Holocene. The tools of this culture occur on the top of the last silt deposit in the river cliff-sections, on the surface, cultivated fields, in the dried up bed of the rivers and streams. Due to their loose occurrence they cannot be considered older than those which come from well stratified layers (Early and Middle Stone Age tools) and so are believed to belong to the sub-recent times (Early Holocene).

In fact, under the term Late Stone Age we have put atleast two distinct cultures only because they happen to have flourished during one geological period which is Holocene and are the last or late phases of the Stone Age civilisationo. The two cultures are named as the Microlithic and the Polished Stone Celt.

Of the two the former seems to have succeeded the Midle Stone Age culture after the end of the Pleistocene

and preceeded that of the Polished Stone Celts throughout India. In Maharashtra, specially in the Pravarā and the Bhimā basins microliths have been recorded as immediately succeeding the Middle Stone Age industries stratigraphically[1] and the excavations at Sanganakallu [2] and Brahmagiri [3] have quite clearly revealed that the culture of the microliths in South India had definitely preceded that of the polished stone celts or the Neolithic. The microlithic industries at Birbhanpur[4] and Tinnevelly[5] command a considerable antiquity because of their occurrence in old terraces of the Damodar and deposits of fossil aeolian sands of the Teris respectively. Due to the crude appearance and rolled physical condition of the microliths of Orissa coupled with their close typo-technological resemblance with the above two industries we believe that this industry also commands a good antiquity in Orissa.

The Polished Stone Celt culture signifies great change in the life of Prehistoric Man. This period, which was of an advanced technological specialisation, marks in fact the beginning of a new age. Instead of depending on nature for food, man during this time became the food-producer by plant cultivation and stock-breeding. This epoch-making innovation puts this period, in socio-economic terms, as "the

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1. At Nevasa on the Provarā, Koregaon on the Bhimā and also in the Narmadā Valley at Hoshangabād.
2. Subbarao, Bendapudi. *Stone Age Cultures of Bellary*, 1948.
3. Wheeler, R. E. M. 'Brahmagiri and Chandravalli 1947 : Megalithic and other Cultures in the Chit Idrug District Mysore State' *Ancient India*, no. 4, 1947-48, pp. 180-310.
4. Lal, B. B. "Birbhanpur, a Microlithic Site in the Damodar Valley, West Bengal", *Ancient India*, no. 14, 1958, pp. 5-48.
5. Zeuner, Frederick E. & Allchin, Bridget 'The Microlithic sites of 'Tinnevelly District, Madras State", *Ancient India*, no. 12, 1956, pp. 4-22.

boundary between Savagery and Barbarism".[1] The new culture (Barbarism), with which ended the Early and the Middle Stone Age Savagery may be taken as the link between the prehistory and history. We shall see later that during the shouldered celt period, the use of metal was known to these people. Moreover, the last phases of this culture are found associated with the protohistoric cultures like the Chalcolithic in its earlier phases. The protohistoric cultures of Central and Western India like the Chalcolithic and the Grey Ware never penetrated into Eastern India and perhaps their place was taken up by the polished stone celts and shouldered-celts the latter leading to a full-fledged metal using culture at the dawn of history. Hence the protohistoric period in India which is so far very vague might well have included a part of the time covered by the Polished Stone Celt culture, specially its later part, at least in Eastern India.

It may be pointed out that the polished stone celts continued through the protohistoric up to the early-historic period becuase in many of the excavations of the Chalcolithic and early-historic sites in India the lowest and the earliest habitation layers have yielded a number of celts, hammer-stones and fabricators which are the well-known tool-types of this industry.[2] From this it is inferred that atleast a small number of these tools continued to be manufactured and used, though for some very restricted purposes, during the Chalcolithic and the early-historic period, and in the latter case as late as the 3rd or 4th century B. C. An implement of this type has been recovered in the excavations at Jaugada in the Ganjam District.

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1. Childe, V. Gordon *The Prehistory of European Society*, 1958, p. 34.
2. Very recently at Nevasa the lowest layer in an excavated trench dated to Chalcolithic period has revealed a factory site of these celts. See Sankalia & others 1960, *op. cit.* p.150.

Microliths.

The name microlith suggests the very dimunitive size of implements which were never used singly but in a composite fashion. Excepting a few scrapers all other types of microlithic tools were hafted on wood or bone handles. The raw materials for this industry were the same as those of the Middle Stone Age and therefore some of the sites of both the cultures are closely linked together.

Gordon believes that microlithic industries around Chaibasa and Chakradharpur (parts of old Kolhan State) are closely linked with the copper-seams in the neighbourhood.[1] On the basis of this he further remarks "in fact once away from the copper-seams no microliths are to be found."[2] With the help of this hypothesis he explains the absence of microliths in Orissa, specially around Kuliana and the stretch between Bahalda and Khiching where no copper is to be found. Now in the light of recent discoveries this theory of Gordon needs revision. Microlithic industries have been found in Orissa after Gordon's brief exploration in the Kolhan area. They were found not only in far away areas from the copper-seams of Ghatsila and Mosabani at places like the Udayagiri hills in the Puri district, Kanhia in the Dhenkanal district, and Danguapasi in the Keonjhar district but also within that area which was searched by Gordon (between Bahalda and Khiching). Hence there is no basis for connecting the microlithic industries of Orissa with the copper-seams as Gordon has suggested.

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1. Gordon D. H. "The Stone Age Industries of the Holocene in India, Pakistan", *Ancient India* no. 6, 1950, p. 67.
2. Gordon, D. H. "Microlithic Industries of India", *Man*, no. 19, Feb. 1938, p. 22.

Scraper, borer, burin, point, lunate and blades (both single and backed varieties) are the regular tool-types of this industry. Fluted cores, ordinary cores and flakes occur in suitable porportions. No prepared platform technique in detaching the flakes is seen in this industry. Tiny thumb-scrapers, hollow or concave-scrapers, side-scrapers round-scrapers and end-scrapers are found in the category of scrapers. Borers are comparatively few, so also the burins all of which belong to the *bec-de-flute* variety and made on exhausted fluted-cores. Points are generally made on flakes with a comparatively thin base intentionally made for hafting. The blades predominate the industry. The baked variety is less in percentage than the simple ones. The small size and broken nature of the blades are a characteristic feature of the Orissan microliths. The coarse-grain jasper, chert, opal and vein quartz perhaps did not yield longer blades like those struck from chalcedony and other similar very fine grain igneous rocks available for this industry in Southern, Central and Western India. No trapeze or triangle which characterise the geometric microlithic industry (later in age than the non-geometric industries) has ben found in Orissa so far. The crude appearance of this industry in Orissa coupled with the occurrence of burins and absence of geometric forms very well conforms to the description of coastal microliths put forward by Gordon[1] which according to the observations made by Todd[2] is earlier in age than the inland microliths.

So far no pottery has been found in association with this culture from any site in Orissa. Perhaps the economy during this period was not much different from that during the Middle Stone Age. Man was still dependent on nature for food, chiefly subsisting on wild vegetations and meat of

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1. Gordon, D. H. 1950, *op. cit.*, p. 69
2. *Ibid.*, p.67 and references thereof.

the killed animals. Though there had been no great change in the mode of living, this period had undoubtedly seen the improvement in the technical skill. The art of making composite tools led to the invention of agricultural implements in later period as well as facilitated the knowledge of wood and bone-working.

Later forms of Microlithic cultures like the pottery-microliths (Mesolithic of Gujarat) and the Chalcolithic-microliths (found in Central, Western and Southern India) so far have not been found in Orissa. Perhaps these cultures never penetrated into this part at all. Their place was taken up by the Polished Stone Celt culture which on the other hand is not so well represented in the areas covered by the later Microlithic cultures.

Scholars believe that the Polished Stone Celt culture of Eastern India is contemporaneous with the Chalcolithic culture of the Western and Central India, the south being the meeting place of both the traits. As the Chalcolithic, a mixed stone and metal industry, is a product of the pottery-microlithic culture (Mesolithic) so also the shouldred-celt culture which had the knowledge of metal[1], is a product of the pure pottery making pointed butt Polished Stone Celt culture. Hence it is evident that the progress of man's technical knowledge in this sub-continent had been almost uniform everywhere, only differing in small details which is so indispensable due to various geographical factors and external cultural influences or intrusions.

Polished Stone Celts

These celts otherwise known as Neolithic celts have been found from numerous places in Orissa. But only one

1. See *infra* pp. 42-43.

place i. e. Baidipur in Mayurbhanj has yielded pottery along with these celts. Since much is yet to be done in the field of Stone Age archaeology of Orissa we are obliged to take the help of certain logical presumptions which are permissible in the case of such a rich site like Baidipur. Perhaps at this place the four great Neolithic innovations were practised.[1] Man of this culture was no more a parasite on nature, like his ancestors but played the role of a good producer. He started living in communities i. e. in the settled agricultural villages and definitely had co-operation and exchanges from his neighbour. Clothing of skin and hide was known since the palaeolithic time but perhaps now he used the vegetation like cotton and similar other fibrous material for this purpose. By the growth of agriculture his meat diet, as well as, his skill in hunting gradually deteriorated. Hence, no wonder that the stone implements of this culture betray no sign of their being used for hunting and killing animals. The celts, chisels, hammer-stones, fabricators, ring-stones for weighing, the digging sticks and the mace-heads are nothing but the agricultural implements. In Europe vegetable remains sticking to the celts as a result of the neolithic harvesting have been discovered, so also the small flint blades made to sickles and knives of composite type have been found. Such changes might well have also taken place in Orissa because at Baidipur we find many of these tool-types with pottery.[2] But the whole story lies beneath the earth waiting for the excavator's spade.

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1. Agriculture, pottery making, domestication of animals and grinding and polishing of the stone tools are the four most important innovations of the Neolithic period.

2. Chakladar, H. C. The Prehistoric Culture of Bengal *'Man in India'* vol. XXI, nos. 3 & 4, 1951, pp. 124-164.

   Fragments of these Neolithic earthen pots are kept in the Baripada Museum.

With agriculture and settled living, man is no more a nomad or a savage. This change from Savagery to Barbarism can be regarded as the beginning of the present day civilization. To be modern man lacked nothing except the knowledge of metal. But during the time of the shouldred-celts i. e. towards the end of the Polished Stone Celt culture, there are evidences that he knew the use of metal. Therefore, we may suggest that a part of the time covered by the Polished Stone Celt culture, atleast that period which was occupied by the shouldred-celts, should be regarded as protohistoric and not prehistoric. In this context attention may be drawn to the evidences from Hongkong, Somrong Sen and Malaya which indicate a date somewhere about the second half of the first millennium B.C. for the existence of the shouldered celt culture in those regions. Since it has come to India from secondary sources in Burma, Malaya and Yunan its date in India may even be later, well near the historical period.

A typical shouldered celt displays astonishingly clearcut angles and parallel sides which is so characteristic of the metal types. Hence many scholars like Dani[1] and Gordon[2] believe that the forms of both metal and stone shouldered celts are intimately connected with each other, indicating that the authors of the stone shouldered-celts had the knowledge of the metal ones and vice-versa. It is also believed that the use of the metal implements were made for preparing the stone celts. Experiments have shown that a metal wire is indispensable for cutting the shoulders into perfect squares which is so essential for a firm hafting.[3]

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1. Dani, Ahmad Hasan *'Prehistory and Protohistory of Eastern India.'* Calcutta, 1960, p. 226.
2. Gordon, D. H. 'The Early use of Metal in India and Pakistan' *JRAI*, LXXX, p. 58.
3. Dani Ahmad Hasan *op. cit.*

However, at present in India we have no evidence to show which one of the two forms (metal or stone) is earlier. But that they are intimately connected with each other may be taken for granted without any doubt by looking into the distribution pattern of their sites. The occurrence of both the forms is confined only to the North-eastern India which includes Uttar Pradesh, north-eastern Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. In Assam though the stone forms occur in abundance not a single metal type has been reported so far and in South India specially in the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī basins only occasional stone forms are met with. It is now accepted that the culture of stone shouldered-celts penetrated into India from secondary sources in Burma, Yunan and Malaya through Assam whereas the knowledge of metal came from Central Asian countries through North-western India. The meeting of two industries resulted in the birth of a shouldered-celt culture irrespective of its metal or stone form in this region (Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa). It is also easy to prove that metal came to India without the knowledge of a shouldered form because no such celt either of stone or metal is met with in the area north or north-west to Uttar Pradesh.[1] So also, although the metal and stone forms were both existing side by side in Indo-China and Malaya[2] only the stone forms migrated into India which is explained by the absence of any metal form in Assam. The association of metal with the stone shouldered-celt culture, the date of its probable origin in the South-east Asian countries and its later migration into India strengthens our arguments for putting this culture as protohistoric.

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1. One stone celt reported from Chitorgarh may be a very stray occurrence.
2. Dani, Ahmad Hasan, *op. cit.*

During the time of shouldered celts, the ordinary pointed butt variety of polished stone celts, ring-stones, fabricators and hammer-stones were also made. Shouldered celts like other polished stone tools were also meant for agricultural purposes and were one of the tool-types of the Neolithic industry. It is only due to their advanced technique and late origin that they are considered to have so much importance. No doubt they constitute a very dominant tool-type symbolising a revolution in the technical advancement. In Orissa their occurence is not very prolific like the pointed-butt celts.

Protohistoric Metal Celts

Indian prehistory ends with the introduction of the shouldered-celts. In Orissa the hiatus between the prehistory and early history is now being gradually filled up by the help of the discovery of more of stone shouldered and metal celt sites. Pure metal celt sites, unassociated with any type of stone implements, have been reported from Dunria in the Pallahara sub-division of Dhenkanal district and Khiching, Kshetra, Baghada and Bhagrapir in Mayurbhanj district. In Baripada Museum some copper implements are kept which are alleged to have come from some places in the Bamanghati and Panchpir sub-divisions of Mayurbhanj district. The specimen from Dunria is of a shouldered variety measuring 7¾ inches long, 6¾ inches wide, and ⅜th of an inch thick at the butt-end.[1] Unfortunately no record of its associated archaeological context and exact location was available when it was transferred to the Lucknow Museum. Excepting the finds from Bhagrapir[2], the speci-

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1. Lal, B. B. 'Futher Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem', *Ancient India* No. 7, 1951. p. 29.
2. Campbell A. 'Futher Relics of the Copper Age', *JBORS* Vol. II Pt. III. 1916, pp. 286,87.

mens from other places in Mayurbhanj are yet unpublished and kept in the Baripada Museum as exhibits. The specimens from Khiching are two shouldered-celts whereas the one found from Kshetra[1] (near Khiching) belongs to the bar-celt variety. The Baghada specimen is a massive double edged battle-axe measuring about one and half feet in length; one edge of it is slightly broken. Out of the other three shouldered-celts kept in this museum two come from the Bamanghati and one from the Panchpir sub-division. Like the Dunria specimen no record of the archaeological context of the specimens in the Baripada Museum is available. At Bhagrapir from one foot below the surface on the bank of the Gulphā river a hoard or ten copper implements have been found. Many of them are double edged battle-axe type and vary from an eighth to a twentieth of an inch in thickness. The largest among them is 18⅓ inches long and 15¾ inches wide and the smallest is 10⅓ inches long and 7 inches wide. The typology of the celts from Dunria, Khiching, Bamanghati, Panchpir, (shouldered variety) and Kshetra (bar-celt variety) and the stratigraphy of the Bhagrapir ones leave no doubt about their great antiquity.

No effort has yet been made to study these celts from the metallurgical point of view in order to ascertain the technique of their manufacture. However, from the outward feature and crude finish of these implements it can be assumed that they were manufactured at a time when the knowledge of metal-working was much less developed than that of the early historic period.

These handful of copper implements help us in no way except providing with a very faint outline of a metal-using culture which inherited the forms from the east

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1. The Museum records show that this specimen was discovered on 5th August 1956.

(Neolithic) and the technique from the west.[1] Further work may reveal the exact nature of this culture in Orissa and its influence over the metal industries of the early historic period.

Megaliths

Another off-shoot of the Neolithic civilization is the shouldered hoes-a form, either metal or stone, derived from the Neolithic shouldered celts. The practice of agriculture with the help of these shouldered hoes is very intimately connected with the people speaking Austro-Asiatic languages. A characteristic feature of this language-group is the erection of megalithic monuments which is even today. The Gadabās, Boṇḍdos, Pareṅgās and Roṇās of Orissa, the Mariā Gonds of Bastar and the Nāgās and Khāsis of Assam are the tribes among this Austro-Asiatic language--group, who have retained this megalithic custom at present. Though these tribes live far apart from each other, from Orissa to Assam, the rituals involved in the erection of such funerary monuments are almost uniform everywhere.

The erection of megaliths as a living custom is only confined to Koraput and Kalahandi districts of Orissa

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1. The bar-celts and the shouldered-celts in metal are the replica of the stone forms of the Neolithic times (at Sitabinjhi in Keonjhar district stone bar-celts have been found). Though Piggott believes that copper bar-celts have developed from narrow elongated celts discovered at Chanhu-daro and Nal (Stuart Piggott. *Prehistoric India*, 1952, p. 237) Lal seems to have found out a difference between the Gangetic specimens and those found in North-western India and Baluchistan and hence, argues the Gangetic ones to be the stone proto-types.

The technique of metal working originated in Egypt and Central Asian countries and later infiltrated into India through various media like trade and invasion.

and practised by the above named tribes only. There is a great deal of difference between the living megalithic practice of these Austro-Asiatic people and that now extinct in Southern and Western India, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Palestine, Jordan, Northern and Weatern Europe, North Africa and other Mediterranean regions. The megalithic practice of Orissa is based on two principles viz., (1) preservation of the memory of the dead and (2) dedication to some deity. But the megalithic monuments of other areas mentioned above were meant for the graves or the burials of the dead sometimes with the characteristic port-holes, which is unknown in Orissa. The antiquity of the South Indian megaliths goes back to the early historic or even to the protohistoric period when iron was first used in this region. Its antiquity in North-Western Europe goes back to the end of the Stone Age[1] and in other places as far as c. 1500 to 2000 B. C. But the Orissan megaliths can hardly go beyond the beginning of the Christian era.

From evidences so far collected, it seems that the current and the extinct megalithic customs had their separate origins. Childe believes that the extinct one with its characteristic port-holes originated around the Eastern Mediterranean regions[2], whereas, due to close parallels which link the megalithic rituals of the Austro-Asiatic people of Koraput with that of the Gond tribes of Bastar and Chotanagpur, of the Khāsis and Nāgās of Assam, and even with the highly developed megalithic cultures of Indonesia and the South-seas, which have the same fundamental idea and type of monuments, Haimendorf[3] suggests the current megalithic practice to be a branch of the great Neolithic civilization once so predo-

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1. Childe V. Gordon, 'Megaliths' *Ancient India*, no, 4, 1947-48, p. 11
2. *Ibid*, p. 12.
3. Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph Von 'Megalithic Ritual Among the Gadabas and Bondos of Orissa' *JPRASB*, Vol. IX, 943, p. 177.

minant in south-east Asia. This practice penetrated into India through Assam with the folks of the Austro-Asiatic languages during the Late-Neolithic times.[1] He also suggests that its centre of diffusion, though not necessarily its origin, lay somewhere in Eastern Assam, Northern Burma or South-west China and a far stronger branch stretched southwards into Indonesia and Ocenia.[2]

A few passages from Haimendorf's study of the megalithic monuments of the tribes of Koraput district are quoted here. They give the salient features of the types of monuments and the rituals involved in their erection.

Gadabā

"Entering a Gadabā village and passing down several streets lined by houses and the wattle-fence of kitchen gardens, one finds onself in a large open space, where a banyan or tamarind tree spreads its branches over an irregular collection, sometimes roughly circular in arrangement, of horizontal stone slabs and upright menhirs. The horizontal slabs and boulders, which are often piled one on top of the other, form a raised platform, with menhirs standing more or less haphazardly amidst these sitting stones. This array of stones which is called 'Sodor', varies in size and shape from village to village, but everywhere it serves as a general sitting place, where villagers assemble for rest and gossip, as well as, for the formal discussion of the village council, where travellers rest in the shades of the trees, children play and men do odd

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1. The late Neolithic is characterised by the shouldered celts and celts of quadrangular cross section.
2. Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph Von 'The problem of Megalithic Cultures in Middle India', *Man in India* vol. XXV. no. 2, 1945, p. 81.

jobs."[1] "..... there are two occasions proper to the addition of stones to the 'Sodor' : the Memorial Feasts (Goṭā Melā) for departed members of the community and the so-called Crab Festivals (Oṅgon-Goṭā) of the village youth".[2] But the majority of the menhirs are added during the Goṭā Melā and those during the Oṅgon Goṭā are comparatively few.

Apart from the menhirs erected at the Memorial Feasts, upright stones may sometimes be seen either single or in pairs outside Gadabā villages in the vicinity of rice fields.

Pareṅgā

"At Ponosha, a few miles east of the Māchkund river, in addition to the village Sodor several small sitting-places in front of individual houses are made by the Pareṅgās. These private Sodor have been built in honour of departed relatives and at the death of a prominent member of the household a new stone is often added."[3]

"A Dom family in a Pareṅgā village sometimes works as Bārik or village messenger. When a Bārik dies, a stone is added to the Bārik's private Sodor by a Pareṅgā who is paid with one cow and 80 seers of rice by the Bārik for his services."[4]

Roṇā

"At some distance from a Roṇā village, one sometimes finds near the path groups of stone circles, 6 to 10 feet in

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1. Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph Von *op.*, 1943, p. 151.
2. *Ibid* p. 152.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
4. *Ibid.*

diameter, built up of rough stone which are covered with flat stone slabs. Each circle has an apperture about two feet wide, carefully flanked by vertical slabs, and on the other side of the path there are sometimes low stone seats together with small menhirs. These circles are not graves, but memorials which the Roṇās erect for their dead nine days after the funeral, either on the place where the body was burnt or on any other convenient site[1]."

Boṇḍo

Boṇḍos live in the block of hills that lie between the great plain of Mālkāngiri and the Māchkund river. They speak a different language, though Austro-Asiatic, from that of the Gadabās, Pareṅgās and Roṇās.

"A characteristic feature of all the Boṇḍo villages is the built-up stone circles (Sindibor) used as sitting-platforms and general assembly places. A village may have only one or as many as five or six of the public stone circles and in rare cases an individual may build a small stone platform in front of his house. In shape these stone-circles differ considerably from the Gadabā Sodor. They are usually built up of rough rubble stones, the top covered with flat slabs; small slender slabs are sometimes set up on the outskirts of the circle at a slight angle so as to serve as back-rests; menhirs are only occasionally found in association with such circles and never in large numbers. While the Sodor of the Gadabās are generally built up highest towards the centre, the Sindibor of the Boṇḍos are frequently built in the form of a horse-shoe, with a depression in the middle and an aperture in the wall which is flanked by the upright stone slabs."[2]

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid,* p. 163

"Though the building of a new Sindibor is today a rare occurrence, single stones are sometimes added even to stone-circles of great antiquity. The suitable occasions for the erection of new stones is the Gewursuñg ceremony in the month of Deāli (October-November) and the Giā Feast in the month of Choit (March-April)".[1]

"Whereas most Boṇḍo stone-circles a·e lacking in stones of outstanding shape or size, some contain several menhirs, which either flank the entrance to the circle or stand on the outskirts behind the sitting-stones. The Sindibor of Tologuda, the main settlement of Kirsanipara, for instance, contains seven menhirs, and at the annual Gewursuñg ceremony an egg is offered to the tallest stones, a slender slab about seven feet high; in the prayer accompanying this offering the Sisā requests Bursuñg to protect the villagers so that they may suffer no loss nor harm by tigers. Even such prominent stones do not seem to be associated with any individual person or family and though the Boṇḍos know of the Gotā Melā feasts of the Gadabās, they say that none of the Sindibor stones are connected with any similar rites. To them the Sindibor are seats of Bursuñg, the earth deity, and not of the spirits of human ancestors."[2]

"The stone-circles and menhirs of the villages are not the only megalithic monuments in the Boṇḍo country. Here and there across the jungle paths linking the villages lie rubble stone walls, about four or five feet high, with gate-ways, which let the path through. These gateways are generally flanked by upright stone slabs, and menhirs are often posted on either side while others are built into the walls

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1. *Ibid*, p. 164.
2. *Ibid*, p. 165.

itself. Most of these walls are situated on saddles where the path traverses a ridge, and they never lie in the open country, but are without exception surrounded by forest. The Boṇḍos call these stone walls 'runuṅgbor' and declare that they are the seats of deities and have existed since the beginning of the world. Many of them seem to be sacred to a deity called Bunuṁpā, which literally means 'branch eating deity' and when a Boṇḍo passes such a wall on his way out from his village, he often places a small branch on the upright stone in the doorway."[1]

Menhirs and flat stone slabs are moreover associated with springs (main source of water) which is belived to be a living place of a goddess.

"The megalithic structures of the Boṇḍos described so far seem to be in no way linked with the cult of the dead, or indeed with any eschatological beliefs. Most of them are regarded as the seat of deities, who are propitiated with rites which reveal their peculiar association with the fertility of the fields, but which contain not so much as an allusion to the spirit of the departed".[2]

"Yet stone monuments for the dead are not lacking among the Boṇḍos, and though the ceremonies connected with their erection cannot be compared with the grandeur of a Gotā Melā feast, they necessitate a considerable expenditure of wealth and the sacrifice of atleast one bull. On the outskirts of the villages, generally not far from the path, one finds miniature dolmens consisting of a table-stone supported by two or three smaller stones, and

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1. *Ibid* p. 166.
2. *Ibid,*

these are the memorials erected by wealthy men in honour of a deceased relative."[1]

The importance of this living megalithic practice of Orissa lies in the persistence of this primitive custom among its isolated aboriginal tribes who probably inherit it from their Neolithic ancestors as Haimendorf has suggested. It is confined to the areas which are comparatively isolated geographically and is prevalent among the tribes of well-developed agricultural civilization characterised by the use of hoe. These people until very recent times were living in a Stone Age economy with very little or no contact with the modern world.

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1. *Ibid.* p. 167.

APPENDIX

List of Prehistoric Sites of Orissa.

Mayurbhanj District

Early stone Age Sites

1. Āmskirā
2. Banspāl
3. Barasol
4. Bāripadā
5. Bāngiriposi
6. Bijātalā
7. Bisoi
8. Brāhmangāon
9. Burāmarā
10. Bhuāsuṇī
11. Domuhāṇi
12. Ghaṇṭaśilā
13. Kulianā
14. Kuchāi
15. Kamarpāl
16. Koilisutā
17. Kaṁtā
18. Kalābāṛiā
19. Kenduḍihā
20. Mahuliā
21. Malichā
22. Mundaboṇi
23. Meṇḍhākhāi
24. Nuāberi
25. Pratāppur
26. Patiñjā
27. Pariākoli
28. Sandim
29. Śirṣā

Middle Stone Age Sites

1. Bādrā
2. Bahaldā
3. Barasol
4. Bijātalā
5. Bonāikalā
6. Baṛmaṇḍā
7. Bisoi
8. Kandaliā
9. Rairāngpur

Microlithic Sites

1. Bādrā
2. Bisoi
3. Boṇāikalā
4. Manḍā
5. Rairāngpur

Ordinary Polished Stone Celt Sites

1. Āṁskirā
2. Bāsipiṭhā
3. Āṁbaḍāliśāsan
4. Baidipur
5. Boṇāikalā
6. Chitraḍā
7. Dahikuṭhiśāsan
8. Ḍukurā
9. Haripur
10. Indipur
11. Jaḍipāl
12. Jaipur
13. Khamā
14. Kaptipadā
15. Kuchāi
16. Khichiṅg
17. Mandā
18. Muruḍā
19. Madhupur
20. Naraharipur
21. Pratāppur
22. Raḍiābindhā
23. Urachandbilā

Shouldered Celt Sites

1. Āmskirā
2. Baidipur

Neolithic Pottery Sites

1. Baidipur

Copper Celt Sites

1. Bhāgrāpīr
2. Bāmanghāti
3. Khichiṅg
4. Kṣetrā
5. Pāñchpīr

Dhenkanal District

Early Stone Age Sites

1. Dheṅkānāl
2. Bhālituṇḍi
3. Bhimkāṇd
4. Chakrasil
5. Hindol Road
6. Harichandanpur
7. Kaṅkili
8. Kharagprasād
9. Kulei
10. Kāliākaṭā
11. Merāmaṇḍali
12. Muchurigariā
13. Pāllaharā
14. Paraṅg
15. Sāmal
16. Tikarparā
17. Tālcher

Middle Stone Age Sites

1. Harichandanpur

Microlithic Sites

1. Kaṇihā

Ordinary polished stone Celt sites

1. Harichandanpur

2. Kaṇihā
3. Sardāpur

Neolithic Ring-Stone Sites

1. Harichandanpur
2. Kaṇihā

Copper Celt Sites

1. Dunriā

Sundargarh District

Early Stone Age Sites

1. Bishālbury
2. Jaṅgrā
3. Sātkuṭā

Middle Stone Age Sites

1. Bishālbury
2. Bhañjgarh
3. Bhāluḍuṅgri
4. Boṇāigarh
5. Bisrā
6. Jagannāthposh
7. Jhirpāṇi
8. Khaḍiākudār
9. Khuṇṭagāon
10. Tumkelāghāṭ
11. Kurhāḍi Minor Irrigation Projeet.

Microlithic Sites

1. Bhāluḍuṅgri
2. Khuṇṭagāon

Orindary Polished Stone Celt Sites

1. Jaṅgrā
2. Unnamed sites in the Brāhmṇī and Ib Valleys.

Keonjhar District

Early Stone Age Sites

1. Champuā
2. Jagannāthpur
3. Ramlā

Middle Stone Age Sites

1. Champuā
2. Jagannāthpur
3. Patnā
4. Ramlā

Microlithic Sites

1. Daṅguāposi
2. Patnā

Ordinary Polished Stone Celt Sites

1. Daṅguāposi
2. Ramlā
3. Ṭhākurāṇī
4. Udaipur

Puri District

Early Stone Age Sites

1. Bhubaneśwar

Middle Stone Age Sites

1. Bhubaneśwar

Microlithic Sites

1. Udayagiri Hills

Ordinary Polished Stone Celt Sites

1. Bhubaneśwar
2. Raṇpur
3. Udayagiri Hills
4. Daśpallā

Shouldered Celt Sites

1. Raṇpur
2. Śiśupālgarh

Cuttack District

Shouldered Celt Sites

1. Mathurāpur (Āṭhgarh).

Sambalpur District

Early Stone Age Sites

1. Kuḍābagā

Ordinary Polished Stone Celt Sites

1. Lasā (Kuchiṇḍā)

Ganjam District

Ordinary Polished Stone Celt Sites

1. Jaugaḍa

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CHAPTER—II

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

ORIGIN OF UTKALA, KALIÑGA OḌRA AND KOSALA

Utkala.

According to purānic account the territory of Utkala is older than that of Kaliñga, Oḍra and Kosala. The tradition regarding the origin of Utkala is associated with Vaivaśwata Manu, who has been represented as one of the earliest kings of India. It is said that Īlā-Sudyumna, one of the ten sons of Manu was a Kiṁpuruṣa[1] as he was becoming woman and man alternately for sometimes. As Īlā she became the mother of puru avas. and as Sudyumna he became the father of three sons named Utkala, Vinītāśva[2] and Gaya. When Manu divided India among his ten sons, Īlā-Sudyumna received a portion, out of which Pratiṣṭhāna was given to pururavas, Utkala had the Utkala country, Vinītāśva the Western territory and Gaya had the city of Gayā as well as, the

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1. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.* pp. 253-254.
2. 'Haritāśva' according to *Matsya* and *Padma Purāṇas.*

Eastern regions.[1] These three territories were collectively known as Saudyumnas in the *Purāṇas*.

Kaliñga.

The origin of Kaliñga recorded in the *Purāṇas* is as mythical as that of Utkala. But the Purānic traditions connect Īlā-Sudyumna, the progenitor of Utkala, Vinītāśva and Gaya with the ancestors of Balī, the father of Añga, Vañga, Kaliñga, Puṇḍra, and Sumha. Pururavas, the son of Īlā by Budha is known to have founded a new kingdom at Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Allahabad.[2] His fourth descendant Anu was a famous king in the East, after whom the territory was known as the Āṇava.[3] This Āṇava kingdom was divided into two parts between Usinara and Titikṣu who were the sons of Mahāmanas, the seventh king from Anu.[4] According to this division Usinara obtained the North-western part of the Āṇava kingdom, while the Eastern part of it passed to the hands of Titikṣu.[5] King Balī flourished in the fifth generation of Titikṣu

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1. सुद्युम्नस्य तु दायाद स्त्रयः परम धार्मिकाः ।
   उत्कलश्च गयश्चैव विनीताश्चश्च भारत ।।
   उत्कलस्योत्कलं राष्ट्रं विनीताश्वस्य पश्चिमं ।
   दिक्पूर्वा तस्य राजर्षे र्गयस्य तु गयापुरी ।।
   Harivaṁśa—x, 18—19
   See also
   Vāyu Purāṇa—xxcv
   Brahma Purāṇa—vii
   Matsya Purāṇa—xii
2. *Vāyu*—xxcv, 21-23.
   Brahma—vii, 21-23.
   Harivaṁśa—x, 635-636.
3. See the Table of Royal Genealogies given by Pargiter in *A. I. H. T.* p. 145.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 9.

and ruled over the Eastern Āṇava realm[1]. An interesting episode in connection with the birth of the five sons of Balī is found in the *Purāṇas*[2] and the *Mahābhārata*.[3] According to it the blind-*Ṛṣi* Dīrghatamas, son of Utathya (Usathya) while living in the hermitage of his cousin Saradvanta indulged in gross immorality with the brides of the younger Autathyas. He was, therefore, expelled from the hermitage and was made to float down the river Gañgā. The flow of the river carried him up to the Eastern-Āṇava kingdom, where king Balī accidentally rescued him.[4] Dīrghatamas thereafter married a *Sudrā* nurse of Sudeṣṇā, the queen of Balī and had some children. Subsequently being requested by Balī, who was childless, he begot on queen Sudeṣṇā, by the law of levirate, five sons named Añga, Vañga, Kaliñga, Puṇḍra and Sumha.[5] These five sons were called Bāleya-Kṣatriya or Bāleya-Brāhmaṇa.

After Balī, the Eastern Āṇava kingdom was divided among his five sons and these five divisions were respectively named after them.

The division of Balī's kingdom into Añga, Vañga, Kaliñga, Puṇḍra and Sumha, suggests that the Eastern

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1. Vide Pargiter ,op. cit., Genealogical Table, p. 147.
2. *Vāyu Purāṇa*—ic, 26-34 & 47-97
   Matsya Purāṇa—xlviii, 23-29 & 43-89.
   Brahmāṇḍa III, lxxi, 25-34 & 47-100
   Harivaṁśa—xxxi, Verse 1684-1690.
   Bhāgavata IX—xxiii, 5.
3. *Mahābhārata Ādi Parva* civ, 4193-4221.
4. This also finds mention in the *Rigveda* I, 158 Sūkta, hymns 3-5.
5. This episode is also narrated in the *Mahābhārata* (*Ādi Parva* civ) with slight variation.

Āṇava territory had extended from modern Bhāgalpur Eastward upto the Ganges' mouth and thence over the entire sea-coast upto Gañjām. In the light of this, it may be pointed out that the Bāleya-Kṣatriyas occupied these fertile tracts from the Saudyumnas whose territories then remained confined to the hilly regions extending from Gayā to the Orissan uplands. This has led Pargiter to conjecture that the Bāleya-Kṣatriyas came from the sea as invaders and driving the Saudyumna stock into the hilly tracts, themselves occupied the Eastern regions forming the five kingdoms. But as the learned scholar himself admits, no such tradition is recorded in the Purānic literature.

Oḍra.

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[1] states that besides Añga, Vañga, Kaliñga, Puṇḍra and Sumha, Dīrghatamas had a sixth son named Oḍra by queen Sudeṣṇā. If this tradition is to be

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1. अङ्ग वङ्गकलिङ्गाद्याः सुम्ह पुण्ड्रोड्र संज्ञिताः ।
यज्ञिरे दीर्घतमसो बलेः क्षेत्र महार्द्धिताः ॥

Bhāgavata Purāṇa—IX, xxiii, 5
(*Gauḍīya maṭha* edition)

In the Bombay publication of this work the name 'Andhra' is mentioned in place of 'Oḍra'. It may be said that the Purānic tradition has obvious intention of representing the early Eastern dynasties as of Āryan blood. But Āndhras being regarded by Brāhmanical literature as outside the pale of Āryan culture their progenitor could not have been represented by Purānic tradition as descendant of the Āryan Ṛsi Dīrghatamas. Moreover, Jagannāth Dās, the famous poet of the 15th century A. D., who made a translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* into Oriya verses, mentions the name 'Oḍra' and not 'Āndhra', as stated below:—

accepted the Oḍra country named after this son may be regarded as the sixth division of the Āṇava realm.

Kosala.

Like Utkala, Kaliñga and Oḍra, the territory of South Kosala has also been attributed to a mythical origin. Rāma, the prince of Kosala being banished with his wife and brother travelled South from Ayodhyā upto Prayāga, then South-west to the Narmadā valley, after which he came towards the region which may be identified with the modern Chhatisgarh area.[1] He dwelt there for a period of ten years and Pargiter believes[2] that Rāma's long stay in that region gave rise to the name of 'South Kosala' after his original home-land Kosala.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*[3] itself states that after Rāma, the kingdom of Kosala was divided between his two sons, Lava and Kuśa; the former obtained North Kosala and ruled from Śrāvasti, while the latter got South Kosala and founded the city of Kuśavatī or Kuśasthalīpura near the Vindhyas.

वलीर क्षेत्रे षढ़ात्मजे
जन्मिले दीर्घतमा बीर्य्ये
अङ्ग वङ्ग कलिङ्ग तिनि
सुह्म पुण्ड्रये ओड्रघेनि

Śrīmad Bhāgavata, IX Ch. 23
(Oriya version).

This proves the authenticity of the Gaudiyamaṭha edition and not of the Bombay publication.

1. *J. R. A. S.* 1894, pp. 231 f.
2. *A. I. H. T.* – p. 278.
3. *Rām.* VII, cxx. 7; cxxi, 5.

Exactly the same tradition has also been recorded in the *Padma Purāṇa*.[1]

The *Mahābhārata*[2] speaks of a mass migration of the people of Eastern Kosala (Kosala) to the south owing to the terror caused by Jarāsandha and Pargiter asserts that these immigrants dwelt in the Chhatisgarh region.[3] Very probably this exodus formed the nucleus with which the territory of South Kosala developed.

Land After People.

The origin of Utkala, Kaliñga, Oḍra, and Kosala as discussed in the *Purāṇas* appear more mythical than historical. But the fact that South Kosala developed out of the settlement of the people migrating from Kosala provides a reasonable hypothesis for the origin of this territory. It appears plausible that Utkala, Kaliñga and Oḍra like Kosala, were named after different stocks of people rather than after the names of some founder monarchs. Ancient Indian literature, both Brāhmanical and Buddhistic, while speaking of these territories, repeatedly refer to the people rather than the land, thus lending support to this view. Both *Sūtta* and *Vinaya Piṭakas* speak of the 'Okkalā' or 'Utkala' tribe, while the epic and the *Purāṇas* mention the 'Utkalāḥ' people. In the *Apadāna*[4] of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Sūtta Piṭaka* the Okkalā are mentioned as a people along with the Mekalā. The *Mahāchattārisaka Sūtta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*[5]

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1. *Padma Purāṇa*, VI cclxxi, 54-55, *Ānandāśrama* Series.
2. *Sabhā Parva* xiii,: 591 & 592. *Ibid* xxx, 1117.
3. *A. I. H. T.* p. 278 note i & *J. R. A. S.* 1908 p. 32.
4. *Apadāna*, part ii, p, 350
5. *Majjhima Nikāya* iii, p, 78
   See also *Añguttara Nikāya* ii, p, 31 and
   Saṁyutta Nikāya—iii, p, 73.

states that Vassa and Bhañña, two tribes of the Ukkalā people were called *Ahetuvādis*, *Akiriāvādis* and *Nathikavādis*, because they categorically denied Cause, Consequence and Reality. The expression of this text is explained by Barua[1] as unintelligible and uncouth jargon of the country of Ukkala. But Buddha Ghoṣa[2], the famous commentator of the 5th century A. D., explains it as—उक्कलाति = उक्कल जनपद वासिनो ।
वस्सभञ्ञाति = वस्सो च भञ्ञोच द्वे जनाः ॥

This goes to indicate that the Ukkalā are the people forming the Ukkala Janapada.

The Mahāvagga[3] of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* refers to the 'Ukkala Janapada', the home-land of Tapassu and Bhallika, who were the first lay disciples of the Buddha[4]. The *jātakas*[5] also mention 'Ukkala Janapada' in connection with the episode of Tapassu and Bhallika.

In the *Droṇa Parva*[6] of the *Mahābhārata* Karṇa is said to have conquered the Utkalas along with the Mekalas, Kaliñgas, Āndhras and others, while in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[7] Sugrīva is represented as directing Suṣeṇa to send his retinue among other countries of the South to Mekala, Utkala and Daśārṇa. The *Vāyu*[8] and the *Matsya*[9] *Purāṇas* mention the Utkalas as a people associated with Mālavas, Karusas, Mekalas and others. Both

1. *I. C.*, I. pp. 126-27.
   I. H, Q. IV, pp. 518-19.
   Dr. Barua's view is undoubtedly wrong in the light of *Majjhima Commentary*, II p. 894, and *Añguttara Commentary*, II, p 497.
2. *Manoratha Purāṇi*, Siamese edition, pt. ii, p. 377.
3. Oldenburg, *Vinaya Piṭaka* I. pp. 3 f.
4. *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Text*, 1st *Khandhaka*, 4.
   (S. B. E. XIII, 81-84)
5. *Jāt.* I, p. 80.
6. *Droṇa Parva* iv, 122 also *Bhīṣma* ix, 348.
7. *Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Sarga* 41.
8. *Vāyu*, xlv 132-33.
9. *Matsya* cxiii, 52-53.

Okkalā (Ukkalā) and Utkalāḥ were undoubtedly the same people and the territory inhabited by them was known as Ukkala or Utkala.

The same observation may also be made regarding the origin of Kaliñga and Oḍra. Both in Pāli and Sānskrit works[1] we find repeated mention of Kaliñgā, Oḍḍakā[2] as well as, Kaliñgāḥ and Oḍrāḥ respectively, while the Greeks[2] also speak of the Calingae and the Oretes. It may, therfore, be pointed out that like Utkala the territories of Kaliñga and

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1. For Kaliñga people :-

Pāli :–

Mahāgovinda Sūttānta of Dīgha Nikāya II, pp. 235 f.

See also the *Jātakas* like *Kāliñgabodhi*, *Chullakālīñga*, *Sarabhañga*, *Kurudhamma*, *Vessantara* and *Kumbhakāra* etc.

Sānskrit :–

Mahābhārata, *Vana Parva* cxiv, 4.

Udyoga Parva xlvii, 70.

Karṇa Parva xl, 29.

Ibid xlv, 14-16.

Matsya Purāṇa cxiii-31.

Padma Purṇa, *Ādikāṇḍa*–vi, 37.

See also *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, Vol. X, Pt, i. Benaras, 1895. p. 306.

For Oḍra people :–

Pāli :–

Apadāna, pt. ii, p. 358.

Sānskrit :–

Mānava Dharmaśāstra, x, 43-44.

Mahābhārata, *Vana Parva* –li, 1988.

Bhīṣma ix 365, Droṇa iv, 122.

Padma Purāṇa, Ibid, v. 52.

Bṛhat Saṁhitā, Ibid.

2. Pliny's *Natural History*, (Trans by Dr. Bostock and Riley) Vol. II P. 46. List of the Indian Races, quoted by Mc Crindle in *Arcient India*, pp. 129 f

Most part of the list referred to above was borrowed by Pliny from Megasthenes. Cf. Schwanbeck pp. 16 f. and 57.

Oḍra were also named after the tribes inhabiting these lands. Medhātithi, the commentator of Manu, while speaking about the Oḍras, has rightly remarked that the country might have derived its name from the tribe.[1]

Extent of Kaliñga.

Among the four political units mentioned above, viz., Utkala, Kaliñga, Oḍra and Kosala, Kaliñga was by far the most important power which very often overpowered the other three territories by her force of arms and succeeded in building up a far flung empire which could endure long in ancient times. The rich and fertile coastal plain stretching from the Ganges' mouth upto the mouth of the Godāvarī with a hinterland of wild mountains and uplands formed the traditional homeland of the ancient Kaliñgas. The *Mahābhārata* indicates that the Northern border of Kaliñga stretched upto the river Ganges. In the *Vana Parva* the sage Lomaśa is represented as pointing out Yudhiṣṭhira from the Ganges' mouth saying "this is the territory of the Kaliñgas where flows the river Vaitaraṇī....."[2] This has led scholars

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1. His comment on *Manu* x, 44.

   Rajendralal Mitra (*Antiquities of Orissa* I. p. 4.) has drawn attention to a race of agriculturists known as Oḍs who inhabit many parts of Orissa, particularly the region round about Khurdā, and according to him this race represents the remnants of the original inhabitants who have given their name to the Province. According to Sterling 'the original seat of the 'Or' or Oḍra tribe was limited by the Rishikulyā river on the south and the Kānsbāns on the north'. It is not known from what source he could get the boundary of the Oḍ dominion and as R. L. Mitra thinks it was his probable conjecture.

2. ततः समुद्रतीरेण जगाम वसुधाधिपः
   भ्रातृभिः सहितो वीरः कलिङ्गान् प्रति भारत ।
   लोमश उवाच
   एते कलिङ्गाः कौन्तेय यत्र वैतरणी नदी ।
   Vana Parva, cxiv, 4.

like H. C. Raychaudhuri and B. C. Law to suppose that according to the epic Kaliñga comprised the Eastern coast from the river Vaitaraṇī to the borders of the Āndhra territory at the mouth of the Godāvarī.[1] But a close examination of the epic verses makes it clear that the Vaitaraṇī is referred to only as a river flowing in the territory of Kaliñga and not as the border of it. The sage Lomaśa declared at the Ganges' mouth that the territory of the Kaliñgas extended onwards from that spot, indicating that the river Ganges rather than the river Viataraṇī was the boundary of that territory.

The account of the *Mahābhārata* regarding the Northern extent of Kaliñga finds corroboration in the works of the early Greek writers. Megasthenes[2] refers to a territory called *Gañgaridum Caliñgarum Regia* and states that the river Ganges formed the Eastern boundary of it. Pliny[3] gives a more comprehensive account of Kaliñga by dividing that territory into three parts, viz. *Gañgarides Caliñgae, Macco-Caliñgae,* and *Caliñgae.* Although he mentions the three divisions of the *Caliñgae* tribes, he presents a common territorial boundary and describes a single capital known as Pārthalis. As regards the Southern boundary of Kaliñga, Pliny suggests the *Cape Caliñgae,* identified by Yule with Point Godāvarī, at the mouth of the same river.[4]

The Western extent of Kaliñga is difficult to determine as it was often fluctuating with political circumstances at different periods. The traditional Western boundary of this territory was, however, fixed at Amarakaṇṭak hills and this limit had recognition in the purānic literature. The

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1. *P. H. A. I.* – 5th Edition, p. 88. for B.C. Low see *Geography of Early Buddhism* – Kaliñga
2. Mc Crindle, *Ancient India,* p. 137.
3. Pliny, op. cit. pp. 42-44
   List of Indian Races quoted by McCrindle in *Ancient India* pp. 129 f.
4. Mc Crindle, *Ibid,* p. 144.

Matsya Purāṇa[1], for instance, points out that the Narmadā drains the Amarakaṇṭak situated in the Western part of Kaliñga. Later *Purāṇas* like *Kurma*[2] and *Skanda*[3] corroborate the account of *Matsya* so far as the Western frontier of Kaliñga is concerned.

Thus the territory of Kaliñga may be said, according to tradition, to have extended as far as the Gangetic valley in the North, the Godāvarī in the South, the Amarakaṇṭak hills in the West and the sea in the East. Too much emphasis cannot, however, be placed on traditional accounts as political geography has frequently been disturbed in course of history leading to changes in territorial limits.

In the 4th century B. C. Kaliñga was under the rule of Mahāpadmananda, who according to the *Purāṇas* not only conquered Kaliñga but also occupied Aśmaka (Assaka) which lay to the South-west of Kaliñga.[4] The rule of one Nanda king (who was to all probability Mahāpadmananda) over Kaliñga is known from the *Hāthī-guṁphā Inscription* of Khāravela.[5] We know from this Inscription that the Nanda king excavated a canal in the heart of Kaliñga not far off Nagarī (Kaliñganagarī) up to which it was extended later on by Khāravela, and this suggests that the whole of Kaliñga was under Mahāpadmananda.[6] But during the time of the last Nanda king we find only a part of Northern Kaliñga i. e. *Gañgaridae*, included in the Nanda empire. The accounts of the Greek writers like Diodorus, Curtius and Plutarch reveal that Xandrammes or Agrammes,

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1. *Matsya*, cxxciv, 12.
2. *Kurma* II, xxxix, 9.
3. Skanda v, 3, xxi, 7.
4. *D. K. A.* pp. 23-24.
5. See Appendix to Ch. VI.
6. See Chapter IV.

the last Nanda king, who was the contemporary of Alexander, was ruling over *Prasii* and the *Gañgaridae*.[1] It appears that Kaliñga and Assaka no longer belonged to the empire of Agrammes. The *Gañgaridae* portion, however, may be taken to be the same as *Gañgaridae Caliñgarum Ragia* mentioned by Megasthenes.

By the time Chandragupta raised the standard of rebellion against the last Nanda king and occupied the throne of Magadha, the *Gañgaridae* portion seems to have been slipped out of his authority. He is never mentioned by the classical writers as the king of *Gañgaridae* although *Prasii* continued to be the heart of his empire.[2] The description of Pliny about the Kaliñga territory with its three divisions viz., *Gañgarides Caliñgae, Macco-Caliñgae* and *Caliñgae,* depicts a large and powerful Kaliñga and to all probability the invasion of Aśoka in 261 B. C. was directed against that territory comprising the three divisions of Pliny and extending from the Ganges' mouth to the mouth of the river Godāvarī.

Under Aśoka Kaliñga formed a part of the Maurya empire, which extended from the Hindukush in the North-west to modern Mysore in the South. The political headquarters of Kaliñga under Aśoka was located at Toṣālī, and another township named Samāpā was made t e second administrative seat. The edicts of Aśoka in Kaliñga were engraved on the Surabha hill[3] near Toṣālī and on the Khapiṁgala hill near Samāpā, and the edicts are found even today at these places.

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1. Mc Crindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander*, pp. 221, 281.
2. *Meghasthenes and Arrian*, 1926, p. 141.
3. The name portion of this hill is unfortunately broken in the inscription. We have restored it with the light of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* written in the 3rd century A.D.

The *Special Kaliñga Edict II* of Aśoka refers to the people of the Āṭavika territory which was left unconquered by him.[1] This territory probably comprised the forest clad hinterland of Kaliñga lying to the West of the coastal region.

Sometimes after the fall of the Mauryas, Kaliñga resumed her independence and in the first century B. C., her king Khāravela is known to have extended the sphere of influence from Mathurā in the North to the Pāṇḍya kingdom in the South and the territory of the Rathikas and Bhojakas (the Mahārāṣṭra region) in the West.[2]

In the *Hāthigumphā Inscription* we find mention of the Vidyādhara territory (*Vijādharādhivāsaṁ*) which is described as an invincible land founded by the former kings of Kaliñga. B. M. Barua[3] draws attention to the Jaina *Jaṁbuddivapaññatti* where eighteen Vidyādhara settlements with their sixty towns have been mentioned being associated with the Vaitāḍhya or the Vindhya range. In this connection mention may also be made of the 'Aṣṭādaśāṭavīrājya' or eighteen forest kingdoms found in the *Khoh Copper Plates* (528 A. D.) of Saṁkṣyobha and the *Kaṇāsa Copper Plates* (600 A. D.) of Lokavigraha,[5] and according to D. R. Bhandarkar this territory comprised 'the tiny kingdom that must have extended from Bhaghelkhand right up almost to the sea-coast of Orissa'[6]. This was probably also the land

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1. *Sp. K. Edict* II. Appendix to Ch. v. See also Hultzsch, *C. I. I.* Vol. I, pp. 115 f.
2. See Appendix to Ch. VI.
3. *Aśoka & His Inscriptions*, p. 85.
   सत्तिम् विज्जाहरण घरवास
   Jaṁbuddivapaññatti, I. 12.
4. Fleet, C. I. I. Vol. III pp. 114 f.
5. *E. I.* XXVIII, pp. 328f.
6. *Aśoka*, p. 47.

referred to as 'Sarvāṭavīkarājya' in the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* of Samudragupta.[1] We feel inclined to identify this eighteen forest kingdoms or Sarvāṭavika Rājya with the eighteen Vidyādhara settlements of the Jaina work, as well as, with the Vidyādhara territory of the *Hāthigumphā Inscription.*

Kālīdāsa[2] in his *Raghuvaṁśa* speaks of a period when the river Kapiśā, modern Kāñsāi in Midnapore district formed the Northern and Southern boundaries of Kaliñga and Utkala respectively. The geographical configuration of this period underwent considerable changes from that of which the Graeco-Roman writers speak. A portion of *Gañgaridae* or the *Gañgaridum Caliñgarum Regia* then appears to have been included in Vañga and the *Raghuvaṁśa* indicates that Utkala intervened between Vañga and Kaliñga.

Although Kālīdāsa speaks of the geographical location of Utkala and Kaliñga, the *Allahabad Inscription* does not mention even the names of these territories, while describing the Southern compaign of Samudragupta. Very probably Kaliñga at the time of the invasion of Samudragupta (cir-350 A. D.) was divided into a number of petty states and Hariṣeṇa, the author of the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription*, mentions some of these states viz., Koṭṭura, Piṣṭapura, Eraṇḍapalla, and Devarāṣṭra. Koṭṭura has been identified with modern Kothoor in Gañjāṁ district, and Piṣṭapura with modern Piṭhāpuraṁ in Godāvarī district, while Eraṇḍapalla and Devarāṣṭra are identified with Eraṇḍapalli and Yellamanchili respectively in Viśākhāpātnaṁ district. These states comprised the territory extending from the river Ṛṣikulyā in the North, to the river Godāvarī in the South

1. Fleet, *C. I. I.* Vol. III, pp. 6 f,
2. *Raghuvaṁśa*, iv, 38,

along the Eastern coast, and this territory very probably passed by the name Kaliñga during that time.

After Samudragupta, Kaliñga emerged as an united and powerful kingdom under the Māṭhara dynasty. The Māṭharas started as a feeble power at Śrīpura (modern Vaṭiā-Śrīpura in Parlakimedi Taluq) in the time of Viśākhāvarman and then occupying the Mahendra region during Umāvarman gradually established themselves at Piṣṭapura under Śaktivarman. The *Ningoṇḍi Copper Plate grant*[1] reveals that Kaliñga during the rule of Śaktivarman extended from the river Mahānadī in the North to the Kṛṣṇā in the South, and although the successors of Śaktivarman could not maintain this far-flung empire, the territory under them was quite extensive comprising roughly modern Viśākhāpatnaṁ, Śrīkākulaṁ, Gañjāṁ and Purī districts. The earlier Māṭhara rulers called their territory as Kaliñga, but later on with the growth of their realm they called it 'Sakala Kaliñga'. Their capital Siṁhapura[2] is sometimes called 'Vijaya Siṁhapura' as in the case of the *Sākunaka grant*[3] of Ananta Śaktivarman and sometimes as 'Vijayapura' as found in the *Andhavaraṁ grant*[4] of the same king.

Places like Vardhamānapura, Sunagara and Sarāpalli from which some Māṭhara grants were issued have not been satisfactorily identified as yet. The identification of Vardhamānapura, with Vaḍama in Viśākhāpatnaṁ district is open to

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1. कृष्णवेण्णा महानद्यान्तरस्थप्रजा धर्मेनानु शासिनः
Ningoṇḍi Grant of Prabhañjanavarman, *E. I.* XXX, pp. 112 f.

The Śakati *Saṅgamatantra* (III, VII. 4.) also refers to the extent of Kaliñga as

जगन्नाथ पूर्वभागात् कृष्णातीरन्तरं शिवे ।
कलिङ्ग देश संप्रोक्तः रागमार्ग परायणाः ।।

2. Hultzsch, *E. I.* IV, p. 143.
3. *E. I.* XXVIII, pp. 226 f.
4. *E.I.* XXVIII, pp. 175-79

doubt. Manda Narasimham[1] is inclined to take Sunagara as the same as Kaliñganagara of the records of the Eastern Gañgas and identifies it with modern Mukhaliñgaṁ near Parlakimedi. The town of Sarāpalli, the last political stronghold of the Māṭharas remains unspecified. But the donated villages in the Māṭhara copper plate grants like Kuttara grāma in Mahendrabhoga viṣaya, Andareppa, Rākulāva grāma in Kaliñga viṣaya, and Barañga can be identified with modern Kothoor near the Mahendra hill in Gañjāṁ district, Andhavaraṁ on the left bank of the river Vaṁśadhārā in Narāsannapetā Taluq of Śrīkākulaṁ district, and Barañga in the Chikati Taluq of Gañjāṁ ditrict respectively. It may thus be suggested that the modern Gañjāṁ district of Orissa and Śrīkakālaṁ district of Andhra Pradesh formed the very heart of the Māṭhara kingdom.

It appears that the Māṭharas were supplanted by the Vaśiṣṭhas in the Devarāṣṭra region where the latter probably ruled in the first half of the 6th century A. D. The copper plate charters of the Vaśiṣṭha family are issued from Devapura and Piṣṭapura which can be identified with modern Yellamanchili in Viśākhāpātnaṁ district and Piṭhāpuraṁ in East Godāvarī district.

About 500 A. D. the kingdom of the Eastern Gañgas was established in the Mahendra region. Sometimes after the decline of the Māṭharas and Vaśiṣṭhas, the Gañga kings assumed the title of Kaliñgādhipati and ruled over a kingdom comprising roughly the modern Viśākhāpātnaṁ and Śrīkākulaṁ districts while the Vigrahas became powerful in the area lying immediately to the North-east of the Gañga kingdom comprising the present districts of Gañjāṁ and Purī and part of Cuttack district. Pṛthivīvigraha (569-570 A. D.) has been described as the ruler of *Kaliñga rāṣṭra* in the *Sumaṇḍala*

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1. *J. A. H. R. S.*, X pp. 143-44.

Copper Plates of his feudatory Dharmarāja.[1] Thus the 'Sakala Kaliṅga' of the Māṭharas was shared by the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Vigrahas, while the Southern part was occupied by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Veṅgī. It may be mentioned here that kings of the Eastern Gaṅga and the Vigraha dynasties were proclaimed as the 'Lords of Kaliṅga', where as the Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarchs never claimed such title. It indicates that the territories enjoyed by the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Vigrahas in the 6th century A. D. formed the main land of Kaliṅga.

It may, however, be noted that king Lokavigraha (600 A. D.) who was apparently a successor of Pṛthivī-vigraha in the *Kaṇāsa Copper Plates*[2] calls himself the 'Lord of Toṣalīs'. He is known to have donated lands in Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī which apparently comprised the territory called '*Kaliṅga rāṣṭra* in the *Sumaṇḍala Copper Plates* of Pṛthivīvigraha. Thence forward 'Kaliṅga' represented only the territory of the Eastern Gaṅgas which remained confined to the narrow coastal strip extending from the Northern part of Viśākhā-pātanaṁ district to the Southern part of Gañjāṁ district and the inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅgas exclusively refer to this region.[3] Thus, the name of Kaliṅga which in ancient times was applicable to a far-flung empire from the river Gaṅgā in the North, to the Godāvarī in the South denoted from the 7th century A. D. onwards to the small kingdom of the Eastern Gaṅgas. This territory continued as Kaliṅga till the end of the 11th century A. D. At the beginning of the 12th century the kingdom of the Eastern Gaṅgas under Choḍagaṅgadeva rapidly expanded and comprised the

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1. *E. I*, XXVIII, p. 83.
2. *E. I.* XXVIII, p. 328.
3. *Outline of the History of Kaliṅga*, Dacca University Studies Vol II. no. 2, Jan, 1938.

area of ancient Kaliñga stretching from tne Gañga to the Godāvarī.[1] This empire of Choḍagañga later on enlarged by Anañgabhīma III, continued more or less, as one political unit till the middle of the 16th century A. D. But the name 'Kaliñga' was seldom applied to this empire, probably because of its long continuation as the name of the small kingdom of the Eastern Gañgas.

During the rule of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati kings, Kaliñga was reduced to the position of a *Daṇḍapāṭa*—a fiscal division under the administration of a *Parikṣā*. A larege number of inscriptions of the 15th cantury A.D., found at Siṁhāchalaṁ and Śrīkurmaṁ refer to the *Kaliñga Daṇḍapāṭa* and the names of its *Parikṣās* who flourished at different times during that century. *Kaliñga Daṇḍapāṭa* continued as a fiscal division even during the rule of the Moghuls, and it is mentioned as such in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl[2].

Capital of Kaliñga

The earliest reference to Dantapura, as the capital of Kaliñga is found in the *Mahāgovindasuttānta* of *Dīgha Nikāya* in which it is stated that the city was founded by Mahāgovinda during the time when Reṇu was ruling over Mithilā.[3] According to the Jātakas like *Kurudhamma*[4], *Chullakāliñga*[5],

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1. The Gañga records refer to Choḍgañga's empire as :-
   गृह्णातिस्म करं भूमेर्गङ्गा गौतम गङ्गयोर्मध्ये ।
   Nagari Plates—Ll. 36-37, *E. I.* XXVIII pp-235 f.
2. Under the Moghuls, the term Daṇḍapāṭa gave place to 'Sircar', but in case of Kaliñga the word Daṇḍapāṭa was retained as a suffix and the fiscal division was called 'Sircar Calinga Dundpat'. (Stirling, *An account of Orissa Proper*, Appendix, p. ix.)
3. *Dīgha N.* (P. T. S.) II, p. 235.
4. *J.* II, p. 67.
5. *J.* III, p. 3.

Kumbhakāra[1] *and Kāliṅgavodhi*[2], the city of Dantapura flourished as the capital of Kaliṅga during the pre-Buddha period. *The Dāṭhāvaṁśa*[3] makes us believe that this city continued to be the capital at the time of Buddha. The *Mahābhārata*[4] names the capital of Kaliṅga as 'Dantakura', which may be taken to be identical with 'Dantapura' of the Buddhist literature. Pliny[5] refers to a fortified town named Daṇḍagula which was situated at a distance of 6,25,000 paces Southward from the mouth of the Ganges and this Daṇḍagula may be taken as identical with Dantapura. According to Jaina tradition also Dantapura was the capital of ancient Kaliṅga, where king Dantavaktra was ruling.[6]

Prof. Sylvain Levi[7] is inclined to identify Dantapura (Daṇḍagula of Pliny) with Paloura of Ptolemy[8] which was a starting point (apheterion) of the deep sea route to the Island

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1. *J.* II, p. 376.
2. *J.* iV, p. 230.
3. *Dāṭhāvaṁśa*, edited by Dr. B. C. Law (Punjab Sanskrit Series)
4. *Udyaga Parva*, xxiii, 708 also xlvii, 1883, Droṇa Parva, lxx, 7.
5. *Book* VI, xx.
6. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, xviii, 45-46.

   In *Sūtra Kṛtāṅga* I, 6, 22, an interesting story is narrated in connection with Dantapura. It is said that the wife of king Dantavaktra while pregnant expressed desire for an Ivory Palace for the construction of which the king requisitioned all available ivory in his kingdom but at the same time the wife of the wealthy merchant Dhanamitra being pregnant, also expressed an alike desire whereupon the merchant and his friend Dṛdhamitra violated the royal order but were subsequently pardoned when the king came to know of their plight. (See also *Abhidhāna Rājendra*, V. p. 186). The Jaina authorities mean 'Danta' as ivory and Dantapura as the palace of ivory, after which the city is so named.
7. *I. A.* LV, 1926, pp. 98-99.
8. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 743.

of Gold. Pliny states "From the mouth of the Ganges to the Promontory of the Kaliñgas and the fortified town of Daṇḍagula, 6,25,000 Paces"[1] while according to Ptolemy[2] the distance between the Ganges and Paloura was approximately 6° 36′. When converted to miles, Pliny's distance is about 570 miles whereas that of Ptolemy comes to about 380 miles[3]. This apparent dissimilarity occurs because of the fact that Pliny measures the distance through circuitous high-way, while Ptolemy takes to the direct over-sea route. The description of Daṇḍagula as a promontory of Kaliñga tallies with the geographical configuration of modern Pālura, in Gañjām district which also agrees with the distance given by Ptolemy. There can be little doubt in the fact that the modern Pālura represents Paloura of Ptolemy and its identification with Pliny's Daṇḍagula (or Dantapura) appears plausible.

Moreover, the Tamil word for tooth (*Danta*) is *Pallu* and that for city (*Pura*) is *Ur*. So the word Pallura or Pālura, signifying the city of the tooth seems, like a Dravidian rendering of the Āryan word 'Dantapura'[4]. On the standpoint o geography and philology Pallura and Dantapura may,

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1. "*Ab Ostio Gangio ad promontorium Calingon et oppidum Dandagula DC-XX-VM passuum*".
2. *I. A.* LV, p. 97.
3. A pace among the Romans was the space between two successive positions of the same foot, about 58 inches. Stadium is a Greek measure of length which is equal to 606¾ English feet and according to Ptolemy himself 1° is 500 Stadia in length.
4. Prof. Sylvain Levi concludes on this hypothesis that "the alternative use of the words Paloura-Dantapura shows also that in the age of Ptolemy the Dravidian language shared the territory of Kaliñga with Āryan forms of speech."
I. A. Ibid, p. 99. Cf. *Linguistic Survey.* IV, p. 577.

therefore, be taken to be the same, and the place may be identified[1] with the modern village Pālura in Gañjām district.

Besides Dantapura the city of Pīthuṇḍa was also regarded as a capital of ancient Kaliñga. The *Hāthigumphā Inscription* mentions an old and deserted city named Pithuṇḍa which was the ancient metropolis of Kaliñga[2]. This Pīthuṇḍa is undoubtedly the same as 'Pitundra metropolis' of Ptolemy, who locates it in the country of the Maisoloi or Maisolia[3], which was named after the delta of Maisolos signifying the whole extent of the mouths of the Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā.[4] Ptolemy places Pitundra in between the mouths of the Maisolos and the Manadas[5] i. e., between the Godāvarī and the Mahānadī and as equidistant from both. In that consideration Pitundra may be located near Chicacole and Kaliñgapatnaṁ to the South of Pālura-Dantapura.[6]

The Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[7] describes a port named Pihuṇḍa which was flourishing in Kaliñga even as early as the time of Mahāvīra. Sylvain Levi is inclined to identify Pihuṇḍa of the Jaina literature with Pīthuṇḍa of the *Hāthigumphā Inscription* and Pitundra of Ptolemy.[8] B. M.

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1. Mr. Oldham has indentified Paloura 'with the existing village of Paluru at the northern extremity of the Ganjam district.'
   J. B. O. R. S. XXII, pp. 1 f. He thus agrees with our above identification.
   Mr. G. Ramdas identifies Dantapura with the present site of the fort of Dantavaktra situated on the way from Chicacole to Sidhantam. *E. I.* XIV, 361.
2. See Appendix to Chapter VI.
3. Ptolemy VII – 1, 15 and 93.
4. *Ibid.* The *Periplus* speaks of Masalia instead of Maisolia.
5. Ptolemy, *Ibid.*
6. *I. A.* LV, 1926, pp. 146-147.
7. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XXI, 1-4.
8. *I. A.* Ibid. pp. 145 f. Cf. *J. A.* 1925, T. CCVI, pp, 57-58.

Barua[1] opines that this city was also the same as Pṛthurāṣṭra described in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, and it may further be suggested that it is the same as pārthalis of Pliny.[2]

After conquest of Kaliñga by Aśoka (261 B. C.) Dantapura and Pīthuṇḍa ceased to be the capitals and new cities of Toṣālī and Somapā assumed political importance. Toṣālī is identified with the modern village of Dhauli on the Dayā river situated 6 miles to the South of Bhubaneswar and Somapā which developed as a second seat of administration may be located close to modern Jaugaḍa on the bank of the river Vaṁśadhārā in Gañjāṁ district. The city of Toṣālī was the main capital of Kaliñga under the Mauryas and continued to be so till the end of the Maurya rule. Ptolemy[3] probably refers to this city as Tosalei in his Geography (cir. 150 A. D.).

In the 1st century B. C. when the Chetis assumed the political supremacy in Kaliñga. Toṣālī and Somapā appear to have lost their importance as centres of political life and a new capital named Kaliñganagarī developed as a heavily fortified city. The excavation of Śiśupālgarh near Bhubaneśwar brought to light the existence of a fortified township of the pre-Christian era and the rich archaeological

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1. *O. B. I.* p.197.
2. See *Infra* p. 76
3. *Ptolemy*, VII, 2, 73 f,

Prof. Lassen is not inclined to indentify Aśoka's Toṣālī with Ptolemy's Tosalei (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. III p. 159) and he is supported by General Cunningham in this view (*C. I. I.* p. 16). About the location of the city of Toṣālī Prof. Kern writes as follows :-

"About the name of the city Tosali little is to be added to what has been already remarked by Lassen in *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. iii, p. 159. He pointed out that the Tosalei mentioned by Ptolemy, vii, 2, 73 sq, cannot be identified with Asoka's

finds thereof suggest its identification with Kaliṅganagarī.[1] Khāravela is said to have reclaimed the deserted city of Pīthuṇḍa but he did not make it his political or administrative headquarters.

During the post-Khāravela period Dantapura revived for sometimes the glory of being a capital city. It is known from the *Dāṭhāvaṁśa* to be the capital of Kaliṅga when Guhaśiva was ruling at the beginning of the 4th century A.D.[2] With the rise of the Māṭharas in the 2nd half of the 4th century A. D. Siṁhapura (modern Singupuraṁ in Śrikākulaṁ district) and sometime Piṣṭapura (modern Piṭhāpuraṁ in Godāvarī district) became the political headquarters of Kaliṅga. The city of Siṁhapura fast declined with the fall of the Māṭharas but its fame as the capital of some royal family continued as late as 1200 A. D. The Chulavaṁśa states that king Vijayavāhu of Ceylone (1054-1109 A. D.) married Trilokasundarī a princess of Kaliṅga whose relatives, one of whom was named Madhukāmārṇava, came to Ceylone

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(*From pre-page*)

Tosali, on account of the difference in site. General Counningham comes to the same conclusion (*Cor. Inscr.* p. 16). Even if we are willing to accept Ptolemy's statement as a correct one, it does not follow that Tosali in Katak should mean anything else but the "capital of the people called Tosalas". There may have been two divisions of the same people inhabiting different tracts of country. This much is certain that the Tosals Toshalas as the name of a people are known from Sanskrit sources viz. Toshala in *Harivamsa* 4736; the form of Tosalaka 4734, 4741. Tosala occurs in a Parisistha of the *Atharvaveda* extracts from which are given by Prof. Weber in his *Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit Manuscripts*. In the passage alluded to, the Tosalas are enumerated in connexion with the Veṇātata the people living on the banks of the Veṇā river, which goes far to prove that the people in Katak is meant" *J. R. A. S.* Vol. XII, 1880, p. 384-5.

1. *Ancient India* No. 5, pp. 66 f.
2. *Dāṭhāvaṁśa*, op, cit.

from Siṁhapura.[1] Epigraphical evidences point out that Nissaṅkamalla and Sāhasamalla who ascended the throne of Ceylon sometimes before 1200 A. D. were the two sons of king Goparāja of Kaliṅga who was ruling from Siṁhapura.[2] It appears that a royal family continued to rule from Siṁhapura as late as 1200 A. D. although that city was no longer the political headquarters of Kaliṅga after 500 A. D.

When the Eastern Gaṅgas came to power in cir. 500 A. D., a new capital assuming the old name of Kaliṅganagara developed as a beautiful city with shrines and palaces. While Kaliṅganagara earned its fame as the capital of Kaliṅga, Dantapura continued for some times to be the headquarters of the Trikaliṅga country. Kaliṅganagara of the Gaṅgas need not, however, be taken to be the same as Kaliṅganagarī of the Chetis, who flourished in the 1st century B. C. Its proper identification has become a problem for historians and archaeologists. General Cunningham[3] identified Kaliṅganagara with Rājāhmundry and Fleet[4] with Kaliṅgapatnaṁ at the mouth of the river Vaṁśadhārā, both of which have been considered unsatisfactory. G. V. Ramamurthi[5] identifies Kaliṅganagara with the village Mukhaliṅgaṁ on the left bank of the Vaṁśadhārā river about 20 miles from Parlakimedi. He points out that ruins of ancient temples and buildings abound this village and those are also found even beyond it upto Nagarakatakaṁ two miles off this place. It may, however, be suggested that Nagarīkatakaṁ where stands the famous temple of Madhukeśvara with a number of inscriptions of the Gaṅga Kings, was the political seat of the dynasty and this

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1. *Chulavaṁśa*, Ed. by Geiger, LIX 29-30.
2. E. Muller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, nos. 148, 156.
3. *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 591.
4. *I. A.* XVI, p. 132.
5. *E. I.* IV, pp. 187-188.

may well be regarded as identical with Kaliñganagara.[1] This city flourished as the capital of Kaliñga till the time of Choḍagañgadeva, who after conquest of Utkala shifted his seat of Government to Abhinava Yayātinagara, modern Jājpur in Cuttack district.

Mahendra Giri.

The Mahendra mountain range of the Eastern Ghāṭs forms an important geographical feature of Kaliñga and it is regarded by many royal dynasties in the past as their respective cradle land.[2] It was thus important as a seat of political activities and became famous as a centre of religious and cultural life of Kaliñga.

The Mahendra region was originally inhabited by the aboriginal Savaras and Pulindas, but about the early Christian era civilised races began their settlement in that area. In the 2nd century A. D. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī is known to have extended his empire in the East upto the Mahendra hill.[3]

The *Mahābhārata* declares this mountain as an important seat of Āryan culture, where Paraśurāma, the champion of Brāhmanism is said to have performed penance.[4] In the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālīdāsa the Mahendra mountain finds

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1. For different views on the subject :
   see *J. A, H. R. S.* VI, pp. 57 f.
   also *J. B. O. R. S.* XV, 1929, Pts. III & IV.
   See the article of Prof. B. C. Bhattacharya and its rejoinder by Shri G. Ramdas in *Calcutta Review*, March, 1931, pp. 405-422.
2. Mahendra as the cradle of the Eastern Gañgas vide the *Korṇi Copper Ptates* of Choḍagañgadeva. *J. A. H. R. S.* I. p. 108. and as cradle of the Sailodbhavas vide the *Cuttack Museum Charter* of Mādhava varmā, *E. I.* XXIV, p. 148.
3. *E. I.* VIII, pp. 60 f.
4. *Mbh.* I. 64.

prominent mention and it is regarded there as the very heart of Kaliñga. Raghu, in course of his *Digvijaya* is said to have conquered Kaliñga and according to the poet the occupation of Mahendra by Raghu signifies his over-lordship over Kaliñga.[1] The poet calls the king of Kaliñga as the 'Lord of Mahendra'[2] and suggests that the political headquarters of Kaliñga was in the Mahendra region. The palace of Hemañgada the king of Kaliñga, as indicated by the poet in the same work, was located on the sea shore not far off the Mahendra hill.[3]

The invasion of Raghu is echoed in the Southern expeditions of Samudragupta as described by Hariṣena in the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription.* We know from this inscription that the king of Kaliñga, whose headquarters was at Piṣṭapura, was named as 'Mahendra-giri' after this famous hill. 'Koṭṭura' of the same inscription, finds mention in the *Dhavalapetā grant*[4] of Umāvarman of the Māṭhara dynasty, as situated in the Mahendrabhoga viṣaya. This suggests that during the post-Samudragupta period when Kaliñga became a powerful state under the Māṭharas a district named Mahendrabhoga was formed centering round the Mahendra hill.

The importance of the Mahendra hill as the religious and cultural centre of Kaliñga was further enhanced with the advent of the Eastern Gañgas, who installed their family

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1. *Raghuvaṁśa*, iv, 39. Even in Medieval period the conquest of Kaliñga was considered complete only after the occupation of the Mahendra. Cf. Rājendra Chola's conquests – *Historical Inscriptions of South India* by Sewell & Aiyangar, p. 61. and Yaśodharman's conquests – *C. I. I.* Vol. III, pp. 146 f,
2. *Raghuvaṁśa*, iv, 40-43 and *Ibid*, vi, 54.
3. *Ibid*, vi, 56. See in this connection The *Calcutta Review*, March 1931, pp. 217-218.
4. *E. I.* XXVI. pp. 132-135.

deity Lord Gokarṇeśwara on the crest of this mountain. The Gañga kings salute Gokarṇeśwaraswāmī of Mahendra in the preamble of their charters.[1]

Like the Eastern Gañgas the Ṣailodbhavas of Koñgoda had great reverence for this hill and they regarded it as a *Kulagiri*. The *Cuttack Museum Charter*[2] declares :

> "The Mt. Mahendra, whose incomparable peak is obstructed by the Eastern Seas, whose surface is covered with various flower-bearing trees, whose caverns are resounded with the constant fall of spring water at the sound of which the panicky birds fly away producing melodious sound reverberating the caverns, stands like the glorious Mt. Meru and is celebrated in the world as *Kulagiri*".

It may be pointed out that the Mahendra mountain is included in the traditional list of the *Kulagiris* in the Purānic literature as well[3]. An early group of temples

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1. ॐ स्वस्त्यमरपुरानुकारिणि सर्व्वर्त्तु सुखरमणीयाद्
विजयवतः कलिङ्गनगर वासकान्
महेन्द्राचलामल शिखर प्रविष्ठितस्य चराचरगुरोः
सकल भुवननिर्माणैक सूत्रधारस्य
शशाङ्क चूड़ामणे र्भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिन
श्चरण कमल युगल प्रणामात्··· ··· ··· ।
Taken from the *Santabommāli grant* of Nandavarman *J.A.H.R.S.* II, pp. 185-89.

2. प्राच्यम्भोनिधिरुद्धसानुरतुलः पुष्पद्रु मालीवृतः ।
स्यन्दन्निर्झर वारिदारितदरी पात खलन्निस्वनः ॥
स्पन्दस्रस्त पतत्रि वल्गुविरुतैरापूरितान्तर्गुहाः ।
श्रीमान् मेरुरिवोद्गतः कुलगिरिः ख्यातो महेन्द्रः क्षितौ ॥
Cuttack Museum Charter of Mādhavavarmā, *E. I.* XXIV, pp. 148 and *Bāripur Charter* of Madhyamarāja, *E. I.* XXIX. pp. 32 f.

3. The *Vāmana Purāṇa* states.
महेन्द्रो मलयस्सह्यः शक्तिमान् ऋक्षपर्वतः ।
विन्ध्याश्च पारिपात्रश्च सप्तात्र कुल पर्वताः ॥
Canto xiii., Verse 14.

standing on the Mahendragiri indicates that this was an important seat of Saivite culture during medieval period.

Extent of Trikaliñga

Along with Kaliñga the geographical extent of Trikaliñga deserves attention, as this territory being a distinct political entity had a chequered role in history. The name 'Trikaliñga' does not occur in early Brāhmī inscriptions of Aśoka and Khāravela, nor does it find mention in early Pāli and Sānskrit literature. The earliest reference to this country may be seen in the writing of the Classical Greek scholars of the early Christian centuries. As pointed out above, Pliny presents three divisions of Kaliñga known as Gañgarides Caliñgae, Macco Caliñgae and Caliñgae, out of which the middle division is variantly mentioned as Modogaliñga.[1] McCrindle points out that "Modo or Modoga is equivalent to Muḍa of modern Telugu. It means three".[2] Thus Macco-Caliñgae or Modogaliñga may be taken to be the hellenic form of Trikalinga, and it is probably the same as Triglypton or Triliñgon mentioned by the Greek Geographer Ptolemy.[3] (circa 150 A.D.)

Gerini in his Researches on Ptolemy's Geography gives the identification of Trikaliñga as follows:—

> "The Andhras of Orissa and Teleñgana, in conjunction with their near relatives, the Kaliñgas, founded, it appears, in that region, kingdom consisting of three districts or separate communities called Trikaliñga or

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1. For Pliny's *Natural History* - vide McCrindle's *Ancient India*, pp. 129 f. See also Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 594.
2. *Ptolemy's Ancient India* by Mc. Crindle, p. 234.
3. *Ibid.* See also Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languges*, pp.28-29.

Triliñga, a name from which the town Teleñgana was derived and employed to designate the country Kaliñga proper on the western side of the Gulf of Bengal, as well as, the country of Mons or Teleñga (Talaing) on the opposite shore, which had been colonised by them."[1]

It appears that a territory named Trikaliñga or Triliñga was existing in Southern Orissa and Northern Andhra coast by the middle of the 2nd century A. D., when Ptolemy wrote his Geograghy. No epigraphic records of this period have come to light to corroborate the writing of the Greek Geographer. But at a later time when we find epigraphical references to Trikaliñga, this territory is then known to be situated not on the sea coast but at a little further to the West in the rocky hinterland of Kaliñga.

In the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* (circa 350 A.D.) the names of Kaliñga and Trikaliñg are conspicuous by their absence in the list of territories of Dakṣiṇāpatha, presumably conquered by Samudragupta. In the post-Samudragupta period the Māṭharas established their suzerainty over an extensive territory from the Mahānadī to the Godāvarī and sometimes upto the Kṛṣṇā, which they called either Kaliñga or Sakala-Kaliñga but never Trikaliñga.[2]

The earliest epigraphic mention of Trikaliñga is found in the copper plate charters of the Eastern Gañgas. In the *Jirjiñgi grant*[3] (537 A. D.) Indravarman I the earliest known ruler of this dynasty declares himself as the Lord of

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1. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p 139.
2. For the epigraphic records of the Māṭharas, see S. N. Rajguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. *I*, Pt. ii, pp. 1—80.
3. *J. A. H. R. S.* III, pp. 49-53.

Trikaliñga *(Trikaliñgādhipati)* and the same epithet was assumed by the next known king Sāmantavarman in his *Ponnuturu grant*[1] (562 A. D.). But after that the Gañga kings called themselves as Lord of Kaliñga or Sakala Kaliñga and none of them assumed the title of *Trikaliñgādhipati* till the time of Vajrahasta V who came to the throne in 1038 A.D. and declared himself as the Lord of Trikaliñga.[2] It appears that the Gañga kings started their activities at Trikaliñga about 498 A. D. the initial year of the Gañga era, and later on became master of the land of Kaliñga.

An interesting allusion to the origin of the Gañga supremacy over Trikaliñga and Kaliñga is found in the copper plates of Vajrahasta V, Rājarāja I and Choḍagañga. The records of Vajrahasta V[3] and Rājarāja I[4] reveal that Guṇamahārṇṇava (Guṇārṇṇava) an early king of the Gañgas of Kaliñga came from the Gañga family of Trikaliñga. But in the four copper plate grants of Choḍagañga[5] the pedigree of the Kaliñga branch is pushed a little earlier in order to trace it from its progenitor Kāmārṇṇava I. These records

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1. *E. I.* XXVII, pp. 216 f.
2. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, p. 242
3. So far 7 copper plate grants of Vajrahasta have come to light and all of these trace the genealogy from Guṇārṇṇava. These records are i. *Narasipattam Plates* (*E.I.* XI, p. 149), ii. *Chicacole Plates*, (*J.A.H.R.S.* VIII. p. 163), iii. *Nadagam Plates*, (*E. I.* IV, p. 183), iv. *Chikkalavalasa Plates* (*Bhārati* II, p138), v. *Boddapadu plates* (*Ibid*, III, p, 83), vi. *Madrass Museum Ptates* (*E. I.* IX, p. 96) and vii. *Ganjam Plates* (*E. I.* XXIII, p. 70).
4. *Chicacole Plates*, *J. A. H. R. S.* VIII, p. 176 and *Galavalli Plates* *Ibid*, XX, p. 171.
5. *I. A.* XII, p. 9. *Ibid*, XVIII, p. 161
J. A. H. R. S. I, p. 44. *Ibid*, VIII, p. 183

indicate that Kāmārṇṇava was deprived of the throne of Gañgavāḍi by his uncle and accompanied by his four brothers founded a new kingdom which was very likely the Trikaliñga territory; from there he proceeded to the East to mount Mahendra where he worshipped the Lord Gokarṇaśvāmin, and then he descended down the Eastern side of the hill and after defeating Śavarāditya occupied the territory of Kaliñga.

It may, however, be said that in the copper plate records of Choḍagañga, referred to above, the foundation of the kingdom of Trikaliñga by Kāmārṇṇava, has been passed over to place greter emphasis on his occupation of Kaliñga. But read in the light of the records of Vajrahasta V and Rājarāja I, they reveal the fact that the original kingdom of Kāmārṇṇava was located in the Trikaliñga country to the West of Kaliñga. In consideration of this, G. Ramadas is inclined to derive the name Trikaliñga from 'Tiru' (High) Kaliñga[1] and writes 'Trikaliñga means high or elevated or hilly Kaliñga and signified in those days the region of the Eastern Ghāṭs from the upper course of the Mahānadī to about the source of the Lāñguliyā river in the south. It cannot be understood to signify the country occupied by Kaliñga proper, Koñgoda and Orissa; nor does the 'Tri' means Three."

The suggestion of Ramadas is illuminating and a number of medieval inscriptions of South-eastern India point out that 'Trikaliñga' cannot be taken to be the same as Muḍukaliñga of Pliny, a fact which R. D. Banerji[2] is tempted to accept and that it cannot also be the combination of Utkala or North Kaliñga, Kaliñga proper and Telkaliñga or South

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1. *J. A. H. R. S.* I, pp. 16-23, and *J. B. O. R. S.* XIV, pp. 539-47 also *Ibid*, XV, pp. 635-42.
2. *History of Orissa*, I, p. 2

Kaliñga, extending from the river Ganges in the North to the river Godāvarī in the South as supposed by R. Subba Rao.[1]

The *Śrirañgaṁ Plates* of Mummandi Nāyaka dated in the Śaka year 1280 presents the boundary of Tiliñga or Triliñga (Trikaliñga) as follows :—

> "The country named Tiliñga is situated in that region to the West and East of which are two famous countries named Mahārāṣṭra and Kaliñga and to the South and the North are situated the land of Pāṇḍya and Kānyakuvja".[2]

The geographical allocation of Trikaliñga appears somewhat vague and to arrive at a more comprehensive ground it is worth while to examine the records of different ruling dynasties associated with Trikaliñga. The *Masulipataṁ grant*[3] of the Eastern Chālukya king Ammā I (916-925 A.D.), reveals that king Vijayāditya was ruling over Veñgīmaṇḍala adjoining the Trikaliñga forest *(Trikaliñgāṭaviyuktaṁ)*. The Somavaṁśī kings of Kosala assume the proud title

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1. *J. A. H. R. S.* VI, pp. 201-203,
   It may be pointed out that the *Peddadugam plates* of Śrī Śatrudamanadeva (*J. A. H, R. S.* XXI, pp. 159 f) refers to Giri-Kaliñga or Hill-Kaliñga as a part of Kaliñga and this Giri-Kaliñga may be the same as Trikaliñga.
2. पश्चात् पुरस्तादपि यस्यदेशौ
   ख्यातौ महाराष्ट्र कलिङ्ग संज्ञौ
   अवागुदक् पाण्ड्यक-कान्यकुब्जौ
   देशस्म तत्रास्ति तिलिङ्गनामा
   Śrīrañgaṁ Plates, Verse 5
   E. I, XIII, p. 162.
   In the *Akkalapuṇḍi grant* of Siñgaya Nāyaka Tiliñga is mentioned as Triliñga. viz :-
   देशस्त्रिलिङ्गनामा and त्रिलिङ्ग देशाधिपति
   (*E.I.* XIV, p. 90.)
3. *E. I.* XXIII, p. 69.

of *Trikaliñgādhipati* from the time of Janamejaya I (circa middle of the 9th century A.D.), while the Kalachuri rulers of Ḍāhala took this title from the time of Gāñgeyadeva Vikramāditya (circa middle of the 10th century A.D.)[1]. The *Brahmeśvara temple Inscription*[2] reveals that Janamejaya, who was the king of Kosala and the Lord of Triliñga (Trikaliñga) conquered Oḍra which was in the neighbourhood of Kosala, and as stated above the copper plate grants of Vajrahasta V and Choḍagañgadeva clearly point out that Trikaliñga lie to the West of Kaliñga.

A palm-leaf manuscript of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* preserved in the Manuscript Library of the Orissa Museum Bhubaneswar, throws important light on the extent of Kaliñga and Trikaliñga. According to this work, the territory extending from the river Ṛṣikulyā to the Jhañjāvatī was called Kaliñga, while Trikaliñga extended from the river Jhañjāvatī upto the river Vedavatī.[1] The Jhañjāvatī flows through an Eastern portion of modern Koraput district as a tributary of the river Nāgāvalī, and the Vedavatī, identified with the river Indrāvatī, drains the Western part of the same district and flowing through the district of Bastar forms the boundary of Madhya Pradesh and Mahārāstra for some distance until it meets the river Godāvarī. Territorial extent of Kaliñga and Trikaliñga described above, very probably refers to the period of rule of the early Eastern Gaṅgas from

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1. *O. H. R. J.* I, pp. 82-83.
2. *J. A. S. B.* VII, 1938, p. 558.
3. ऋषिकुल्यां समासाद्य यावद्झञ्झावतीं नदीं ।
   कलिङ्ग देश प्रख्यातो देशानां गर्हितस्तदा ॥
   झञ्झावतीं समासाद्य यावद्वेदवती नदी ।
   त्रिकलिङ्ग इति विख्यातो··· ··· ··· ··· ॥
   The last eight letters of the verse in the palm leaf Ms are lost.

the end of the 5th century A.D. to about the middle of the 11th century A.D.

Extent of Utkala.

The early Pāli literature clearly shows that *Ukkala Janapada* or Utkala, as a political entity was existing during the time of Buddha. The *Vinaya Piṭaka*[1], as well as, the *Jātakas*[2] mention Tapassu and Bhallika, the two merchant-brothers, as going from the *Ukkala Janapada* to the *Majjhima desa* on trade. This indicates that the *Ukkala Janapada* was out side the limits of the Buddhist *Majjhima desa* which extended upto Kajaṅgala-nigama on the East, and the river Sallavatī on the South-east. Kajaṅgala is the same as *Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo* of Yuan Chwang and it was located near Rājmahal on the South bank of the Ganges, while Sallavatī is identified with the river Suvarṇarekhā. The Ukkala territory has further been mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikāya* according to which it was inhabited by two tribes—the Vassa and the Bhaññas[3].

In the *Mahābhārata*[4] Utkala is found associated with the territories of Oḍras, Mekalas, Kaliṅgas and Āndhras. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[5] further associates Utkala with Mekala and Daśārṇa, while the Purānic tradition declares the Utkalas along with the Karusas, Mekalas, Uttamārṇas, and the Daśārṇas as inhabiting the Vindhya regions.[6] From this

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1. *Mahāvagga, S. B. E.*, XIII, pp. 81-84,
2. तस्मिन् समये तपस्सु भल्लिकु नामा द्वे वणिजा
   पञ्चहि सकट सतेहि उक्कल जनपदा मभिमुखं देसं गच्छन्त ।
   J. I. p. 80
3. See infra, p. 73.
4. *Bhīṣma Parva*, ix, 348.
   Droṇa Parva, iv, 122
5. *Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Sarga* 41.
6. *Vāyu*, xlv. 132–133; *Matsya*, cxii, 52-53
   Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 327, foot note.

Pargiter[1] suggests that Utkal comprised the Southern portion of modern Chotanagpur and he may be correct if the Chotanagpur hills are considered to be an extension of the Vindhya ranges. Moreover, the expression 'Sumhottarāḥ' meaning a people of the Eastern countries in the *Matsya Purāṇa*[2] is taken to be 'Suṁhotkalāḥ' by scholars[3], in which case, Utkala would be at the neighbourhood of Sumha which roughly comprised the modern districts of Bāñkurā, Midnāpur and Mānbhūm.[4]

The *Vana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*[5] seems to indicate that Utkala formed a part of Kaliñga which extended upto the mouth of the Ganges during the period of which it speaks. But Kālīdāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa*[6] represents Utkala as a neighbouring State of Kaliñga to the North with the river Kapiśā (modern Kāsāi in Midnapur district) as the common boundary.

The earliest epigraphic evidence of the extent of Utkala is found in the *Midnapur Copper Plates* issued by Somadatta in the 18th regnal year of Śaśāñka.[7] It is known from this record that Daṇḍabhukti comprising roughly the present Midnapur district of West Bengal formed a part of Utkaladeśa in the early 7th century A. D. But the name 'Utkala' is not found in epigraphic records for a long time thereafter. It appears that Utkala for a time came to be

1. Pargiter, *Ibid*, p. 327, f. n.
2. *Matsya*, cxiii, 44.
3. Pargiter, *op. cit.*
   and B. C. Law, *Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 334.
4. B. C. Law, *Ibid* p. 334.
5. *Vana Parva*, 114.
6. *Raghuvaṁśa*, iv, 38.
7. *J. R. A. S. B.* XI, p. 1.

known as Uttara Toṣalī comprising the North-eastern part of Orissa.

Toṣalī

The territory named Toṣala or Taṣalī is often met with in ancient Indian literature. It is mentioned in the Pariśiṣṭha of *Atharva Veda*[1] along with Kosala, while the *Purāṇas*[2] associate the people of Toṣala with the Kotalas, Traipuras, Vaidisas, Tumuras, Tumbaras, and Niṣādas. The Jaina *Āvasyaka sūtra*, although a late work, speaks of the country of Toṣala existing as early as the time of Mahāvīra as a contiguous territory of Toṣala.[3] Bharata in his *Nāṭya Śāstra*[4], a work of the early Christian centuries, mentions Toṣala as a territory distinct from Kosala and Kaliñga. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha* a Sānskrit Buddhist text of the 3rd century A. D., a country named 'Amita Toṣala' with its capital city 'Toṣala' has been mentioned as situated in the Deccan.[5] In this Buddhist text Upāsikā Achalāsthirā has been represented as instructing Sudhanakumāra an aspirant scholar as follows:

"Now, youngman, go hence, in this Deccan where we are, there is a country Amita Toṣala; there is a town there named Toṣala; it is there that dwells a wandering Parivrājaka of the name Sarvagrāmin." The text then continues—"He went from there to the country

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1. *Atharva Pariśiṣṭha*—Ch. 56.
2. *Vāyu*, xlv, 132-33.
   Matsya, cxiii, 52-53.
   Mārkaṇḍeya, liv, 51.
3. ततो भगवम् तोसलिम् गउ ··· ··· तत्थ सुमागहो
   नाम रठिओ पियमित्तो भगवओ सो माएइ ।
   ततो सामी मोसलिम् गउ ··· ··· ···
   Āvasyaka Sūt a, pp. 219-20
4. Nāṭya Śāstram, xiii, 40.
5. Bagchi, *Pre. Ary. Pre Drav, in India* p. 70, also p. 176.

of Amita Toṣala, in search of the town of Toṣala. At the time of sunset, he reached by stage the town of Toṣala. He stopped at the midst of the carrefour of the place, and from lane to lane, from place to place, from chariot-ways to chariot-ways he roamed and ended by seeing Sarvagrāmin. And when the night drew to a close, he perceived in the Northern region of the town of Toṣala the mountain called Surabha, the top of which was covered with grass, groves, plants, forests and gardens....."[1] The city of Toṣala is very likely the same as the ancient Toṣālī which was the political headquarters of Kaliñga under Aśoka in the 3rd century B. C. Aśoka inscribed his Rock edicts at Tośālī on a hill which was then known as (Su) rabha, and the *Gaṇḍavyūha* refers to this very Surabha hill locating it on the out-skirts of Toṣala, the capital of Amita Toṣala. 'Amita Toṣala' literally means 'Great Toṣala' which later on seems to have been divided into two parts viz., Uttara Toṣalī (North Toṣalī) and Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī (South Toṣalī).

Uttara Toṣalī came into prominence in history under king Śaṁbhūyaśa of the *Maudgalyakula* whose feudatory Somadatta ruled in the Gupta year 260 i. e. 580 A. D.[2] It is difficult to know as to when the name 'Uttara Toṣalī'

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1. गच्छ कुलपुत्रे हैव दक्षिणापथे अमिततोसले जनपदे तोसलं नाम नगरं तत्र सर्वग्रामी परिव्राजकः प्रतिवसति ... येनामित तोसलो जनपद स तेनोपजगाम पेत्य तोसलनगरं परिमार्गन् परिगवेषमाणोऽनुपूर्वेण तोसलं नगरं अनुप्राप्तः सूर्य्यास्त गमन काले स तोसलं नाम नगरं अनुप्रविश्य मध्ये नगरशृङ्गाटकस्यस्थित्वा बीथि मुखेन वीथिमुखं, चत्वरेण चत्वरं, रथ्यया रथ्यं सर्वग्रामिणं अद्राक्षीत् राज्यां प्रशान्तायां तोसलस्य नगरस्योत्तरे दिग्भागे सुरभं नाम पर्वतं तस्य शिखरे विविध तृण गुल्मौषधि वनाराम रचिते महावभास प्राप्तं भास्करमिवोदितं तस्य तमवभासं दृष्ट्वा...
(This passage is quoted by Śāntideva in his *Śikṣā Samuchaya* Mss. 33, 36, 41, the Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris).
2. *E. I.* XXIII, pp. 201 f.

originated, but it can be said that in 570 A. D., the name Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī was not in vogue, as that region was then known as 'Kaliñgarāṣṭra'.[1] The name Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī is met with for the first time in the *Kaṇāsa Copper Plates* of Lokavigraha dated in 280 Gupta era, i. e. 600 A. D.[2] From this it may be concluded that the name Uttara Toṣalī and Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī began to be commonly used from the last quarter of the 6th century A. D. and both the territories were then under the rule of rival monarchs, Śaṁbhūyaśa and Lokavigraha respectively.

The extent of the territories of both the Toṣalīs can be tentatively known from the *Soro, Paṭiākelā,*[3] *Midnapur*[4] and *Kaṇāsa Copper Plates.* The modern Midnāpur, Mayūrbhañja and Balasore districts, as well as, the Northern part of Cuttack district may be said to have formed the kingdom of Uttara Toṣalī, while Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī comprised roughly the modern Purī district and parts of Cuttack and Gañjāṁ districts up to the river Ṛṣikulyā and the river Mahānadī appears to be the dividing line between the two territories.

The *Paṭiākelā Copper Plates* of 283 Gupta era i. e. 603 A. D. indicate that Śaṁbhūyaśa, Lord of Uttara Toṣalī spread his suzerainty over Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī and thus unified both the units under his Sceptre. This unified Toṣalī appears to have passed to the hands of Śaśāñka sometime before 620 A. D.[5]

The death of Śaśāñka by 625 A. D. brought about striking change in the political history of this territory. King

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1. *E. I.* XXVIII, pp. 83 f.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 328 f.
3. *E. I.* IX, p. 283.
4. *J. A. S. B.* XI (1945), pp. 7-9.
5. *E. I.* VI, pp. 144 f.

Harṣavardhana of Kanauj who conquered major part of Orissa placed it under some protégé and the Orissa portion of Harṣa's empire was then known as Oḍraviṣaya. The *Soro Plates* of Somadatta[1] reveal that Uttara Toṣalī was a part of Oḍraviṣaya in his 15th regnal year when Śaśāṅka was no longer his overlord. The territory was called Wu-cha (Oḍra) by Yuan Chwang who visited Orissa in 636 A. D.

Toṣalī revived with the coming of the Bhauma-Karas to power in 736 A. D. and the Bhauma empire extending from Daṇḍabhukti in the North to Koṅgoda in the South was divided into Northern and Southern Toṣalīs in traditional lines. Śivakara I Unmatta Siṁha, who is regarded as the founder of the Bhauma era, is khown to have defeated the king of Rāḍha (part of West Bengal),[2] and also to have occupied the territory of Koṅgoda[3].

The *Hindol Plate* [4] of Subhākaradeva III dated in the year 103 ie. 839 A. D. registers the gift of the village Naddilo in Kaṅkavirā viṣaya in Uttara Toṣalī, while the *Dharākote Plate*[5] of the same king dated in the same year records the gift of the village Guṇḍaja in Jaya-Kaṭaka viṣaya of Koṅgoda maṇḍala in Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī.

The territorial division of Uttara and Dakṣina Toṣalīs continued till the Bhauma-Karas were supplanted by the

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1. *E. I* XXIII, p. 202.
2. *E. I.* XV, pp. 1-8
3. *I. H. Q.* XII, pp. 492-93.
4. *J. B. O. R. S.* XVI, pp. 69 f.
5. *Ibid*, IV, pp. 189 f.

Somavaṁśīs about the middle of the 10th century A. D. after which the entire Toṣalī assumed the old name Utkala.

Utkala Again

It may be pointed out that even during the palmy days of the Bhauma-Karas, Toṣalī (comprising both Northern and Southern divisions) was considered as synonymous with Utkala and the Bhaumas sometimes called themselves as *Utkala-kula*. The *Chaurāsi Copper Plate*[1] of Śivakara II gives Śubhākara I the proud epithet of '*Utkalendra*' and declares the Bhauma-Karas as '*Utkala kula*'. The Bhauma-Karas are also referred to as 'Utkala kula' in the *Bādal Pillar Inscription* of Nārāyaṇapāla [2]. It may, however, be mentioned that no other Bhauma charters after the *Chaurāsi grant* (809 A. D.) name this empire as Utkala: but when the Bhaumas were supplanted by the Somavaṁśis their empire was referred to as 'Utkala' in the records of the Somavaṁśī kings.

Yayāti II Mahāśivagupta, who was very probably responsible for unification of the empires of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśīs under his suzerainty, declares himself in the *Mārañjamura Charter*[3] to be the Lord of Kaliñga, Koñgoda, Utkala, and Kosala. It may be said that 'Koñgoda' by that time had been reduced to a district of Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī and so had not independent status although it is separately mentioned owing probably to its political prestige.

During the reign of Uddyota Mahābhavagupta, the son of Yayāti II, the united Somavaṁśī empire was divided

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1. *J. B. O. R. S.* XIV, pp. 292-306.
2. *E. I.* II, pp. 160 f.
3. *J. B. O. R. S.* II, pp. 52-55,

into two parts[1] and the portion comprising the empire of the Bhaumas retained its name Utkala[2], while the Western portion comprising the Sonepur-Sambalpur region continued as Kosala.

It was this Utkala portion which passed to the hands of Choḍagaṅgadeva during the early years of the 12th century A. D. [3] But the Kosala kingdom then under the rule of the powerful Kalachuris successfully defied the aggression of the imperial Gaṅgas,[4] until it was finally occupied during the time of Anaṅgabhīma III (1212-1238 A. D.)[5]

Capital of Utkala

Virajā which flourished as the capital of Utkala has a glorious antiquity dating as early as the time of which the *Mahābhārata* speaks. The *Vana Parva* declares it a famous place of pilgrimage and considers the river Vaitaraṇī which flows by it as capable of washing away all sins.[6] The Gayāsura

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1. *J. A. S. B*, 1838, VII. (old series), pp. 557-61. and *J,R.A.S.B.* XIII, (1947) pp. 63 f.
2. The *Skanda Purāṇa*, vi, 26, states that Utkala comprises the territory from the river Ṛṣikulyā to the river Suvarṇarekhā.
   This very likely refers to the period under discussion.
3. *Vizag Plates, I. A.* XVIII, pp 165 f, *Korṇi Plates, A. H, R. J.*, I. pp. 118 f.
4. *E, I*, I pp. 40, 47.
5. *J. A. S. B.* (old series) LXVIII, 1898, pt, i, pp. 322-26.
6. ततो वैतरणीं गत्वा सर्वपाप प्रमोचनीं ।
   विरजातीर्थमासाद्य विराजते यथा शशी ॥

   Vana Prava, xxcv. 6.

   According to epic tradition the Vaitaraṇī was flowing through Kaliṅga and so Virajā was then regarded as a place in Kaliṅga.

   For Virajā as a place of pilgrimage, see
   Brahma Purāṇa xiii. 1.
   Kapila Saṁhitā vii. 2

episode of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[1] testifies to its sacredness by pointing out that it is the famous Nābhigayā where lies the naval portion of the demon Gaya. Brāhmanical Hinduism recommends oblation to be offered to the departed souls of forefathers at Nābhigayā on the banks of the Vaitaraṇī and the latter is regarded as the river flowing at the gate of the abode of Yama. In this respect the Buddhist tradition corroborates the Brāhmanical belief as in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*[2], an early Pāli work, the Vaitaraṇī is regarded as Yama's river and the *jātaka*[3] declares that in this river the hellish creatures suffer.

The earliest epigraphic evidence regarding Virajā as a political headquarters (of Utkala) is known from the *Parlakimedi Copper Plates* of Śrī Pṛthvī Mahārāja[4] who probably flourished in the second half of the 6th century A.D. It is known from the *Soro Copper Plates* of Bhānudatta[5] that Virajā was the capital of an extensive territory by the middle of the 7th century A.D. When the Bhama-Karas became powerful and ruled over both Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Toṣalīs Virajā became the administrative centre of both the Toṣalīs. The *Gañjāṁ Copper Plate grant* of Jayavarmā of Śvetaka[6] reveals that Virajā was the capital city of Unmattakeśarī-Śivakaradeva I, the Bhauma-Kara monarch of both the Toṣalīs.

In the year 93 i.e. 829 A.D., Virajā finds mention as a city in the *Dhaulī Cave Inscription*[7] of the time of Śāntikara I.

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1. Vide *Gayāsura Māhātmya* Section of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* See also R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gaya*, Ch. I, pp. 10–20.
2. यमस्स वेतरणीम् , *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, I, p. 21
3. *J.* V, p. 276.
4. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Pt. ii pp. 54 f.
5. *E. I.* XXIII, pp. 203-04.
6. *I. H. Q.* XII, pp. 429 f.
7. *E. I.* XIX, pp. 263-64.

But the copper plate charters of the Bhauma-Karas call the capital city not by the name 'Virajā', but by the designation Guhadevapāṭaka which in later charters dating about 881 A.D. (145 Bhauma era) changed into Guheśvarapāṭaka,[1] probably with political prominence of the ruling family.

When the Bhauma-Karas were supplanted by the Somavamśīs during the time of Yayāti II Mahāśivagupta, the latter transferred his political headquarters from Yayātinagara of Kosala to the capital of the Bhauma-Karas. From this time onwards the name Guheśvarapāṭaka was probably renamed as Abhinava Yayātinagara after the old Yayātinagara on the banks of the river Mahānadī[2]. In the '*Pavanadūtaṁ*' of the poet Dhoyi (about the end of the 12th century A.D.)[3] we find that the wind messanger which came from the Malaya hill in South India passed through Kaliñganagara (Mukhaliñgaṁ) and Yayātinagara, after which it moved towards Sumhadeśa and arrived at Vijayapura, the capital of Sumha. This Yayātinagara which

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1. Pt. B. Misra identifies Guheśvarapāṭaka (*Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 89) with Godhaneśvara Pattana and Dr. K. C. Panigrahi (*Chandrikā* – Oriya Monthly Vol. I. Pt. vii, pp. 241-245) with Gohirtikirā both located close to modern Jajpur. But these identifications appear untenable as no reliable antiquities can be found in these two sites. We are inclined to identify this place with Virajā modern Jajpur where two stone inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara family have come to light. (See *E. I.* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 179 f.).
2. Abhinava Yayātinagara mentioned in the *Mādalā Pāñji* probably refers to this city.

   Vide, *Mādalā Pāñji*, Prāchī edition – p. 28.
3. *J. & P. A. S. B.* Vol. I (New series,) p. 45

lie in between Kaliñganagara and Vijayapura may be indentified with Abhinava Yayātinagara.[1]

The Muslim Chroniclers called Yayātinagara as Jājnagar and very often they named the territory after this capital city. It is evident that in course of time Yayātinagara came to be known as Jājnagar and subsequently the suffix 'nagar' was replaced by 'pur' both conveying the same meaning.

The Maṇḍala States

During medieval period a number of semi-independent States known as maṇḍalas flourished in Orissa and played important roles in the history of the time. The word '*maṇḍala*' appears somewhat confusing because even territories like Kaliñga, Utkala, Kosala and Oḍra were sometimes being considered as 'maṇḍalas'[2]. According to tradition recorded in the *Dharmaśāstra* a State is called a maṇḍala, when it is

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1. When Choḍagañgadeva occupied Utkala early in the 12th century A. D., he shifted his capital from Kaliñganagara to this Abhinava Yayātinagara. The Gañga capital was later on transferred to Abhinava Vārāṇasī kaṭaka (Cuttack) during the time of Anañgabhīmadeva III, (1212–38 A. D.)
2. Kaliñga is mentioned as a 'mandala' in the *Chicacole Plates* of Madhukāmārṇava (*J. B. O. R. S.* XVIII pp. 272-75, also *J. A. H. R. S.* VIII pp. 168-80).

   Both Kosala and Utkala are referred to as 'mandalas' in the *Aḍabhāra Plates* of Mahānannarāja (*Proceedings I. H. C* 19th Session, Agra, p. 138).

   In the *Ratnapur Stone Inscription* of Jajalladeva, Dakṣiṇa Kosala is called a 'mandala' along with Āndhra, Khimeḍi, Vairagara, Lañikā, Bhanara, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura, Nandavali and Kukkuṭa, *E. I.* I pp. 32; Hiralal, *Insc. of C. P. & Berar*, p. 116,

   Sāralādāsa, the famous Oriya poet of the 15th century A. D., declares Oḍra rāṣṭra as a maṇḍala at several placas in his *Mahābhārata*


DAṆḌABHUKTI
BONAI
R. BRAHMANI
Khijjingakota
KHIJJINGA
R. MAHANADI
KOSALA
Yamagarta
R. VAITARANI
Kodalaka
KODALAKA
OSALI
R. ONG
KHIMJINGI
Dhrtipura
AIRAVATTA
KAMALA
Airavatta
R. T E L
KAINDIRASRNGA
TOṆGADA
R. VAMSADHARA
CHILIKA
SVETAKA
Svetaka
R. MAGAVALI
CHAKRAKOTTA
TRIKAL-
INGA
KALINGA
VAṄGADI
R. MACHHKUND
MANDALA STATES
80 MILES

roughly a square either of twenty *yojanas* or of forty *yojanas*. The maṇḍala states mentioned below more or less conform to the tradition of the *Dharmaśāastra*. These states were Koñgoda maṇḍala, Svetaka, Kodālaka maṇḍala, Yamagartta maṇḍala, Airāvaṭṭa maṇḍala, Khiñjali maṇḍala, Khijjiñga maṇḍala, Daṇḍabhukti maṇḍala, Khiṇḍiraśṛñga maṇḍala, Chakrakoṭṭa maṇḍala etc.[1] The accounts of these maṇḍalas are presented below.

Koñgoda Maṇḍala

This maṇḍala flourished in the 6th-7th century A. D., under the rule of the Śailodbhava dynasty. It was probably so named because it constituted parts of Kaliñga and Oḍa (Oḍra) territories and the word Kaliñgoḍa, thus formed, came to be known as Koñgoda in common use.[2]

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who visited Koñgoda about 638 A. D. states :

> "This country was above 1,000 li in circuit. The country contained some tens of towns to the edge of the sea".[3]

According to the description of the pilgrim Koñgoda was about 200 miles in circumferance and it was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea.[4]

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1. It may be pointed out that Somuṇḍa maṇḍala and Bhramarakoṭya maṇḍala were parts of Khiṇḍiraśṛñga and Chakrakoṭṭa respectively. There were some other mandalas which were treated as Viṣayas or districts of a kingdom and, as such, these administrative divisions do not come under the present discussion. As examples of this class of mandalas, mention may be made of Amvavāḍi maṇḍala and Soḍā maṇḍala in Kaliñga.
2. The name Koñgoda may also be explained as the 'Land of honey', as 'Koñgu' in literary Tamil means honey,
3. *Watters*, II, p. 195.
4. *Watters* II, p. 196.

On the basis of this account B. Misra writes, "The hill ranges running from Kāluparāghāṭ Westwards seem to have demarcated its Northern limit. There is no pass through these ranges of hills which reach a point in the South-west frontier of the (ex)-Nayagarh State. The Mahendra hill which runs West-wards from the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the East probably formed the Southern boundary line of Koñgoda. Again the hills now demarcating the Eastern boundary of the (ex)-Kalahandi State may be supposed to be the natural Western limit of the same Koñgoda".[1]

By the time of Yuan-Chwang's visit Koñgoda had just emerged as an independent kingdom and was bidding for a mighty political career. In the second half of the 7th century A. D. the territorial extent of this kingdom appears to be far-flung and by that time it comprised considerable portion of Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī. Some of the important towns which were probably included in the expression 'tens of towns' of the Chinese pilgrim, are Guḍḍa, Koṇḍeṇḍā, Saumyapura, Mātṛ-chandra-pāṭaka, Jayakaṭaka, Devagrāma, Nivinā, Phāsika, etc. which may be identified with modern Buguḍā, Kodaṇḍa, Soonpur, Chandraputu, Jaugaḍa, Degāñ, Niminā and Phāsi respectively in the Gañjām and Purī districts. The 'Vijaya Koñgodavāska appears to be the capital of Koñgoda-maṇḍala and this has been tentatively identified with modern Bañkāḍa, in the light of the antiquities found there on the banks of the river Sāliā.[2] That the headquarters of Koñgoda was located on the banks of Sālimā is known from many copper plate records, and this Sālimā can be no other than the present rivulet Sāliā which flows into the Chilkā Lake.

The territory of Koñgoda as known from the account of Yuan-Chwang was hilly and forest-clad and the

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1. *D. M. O.* p. 1.
2. Vide *Proceedings of I. H. C.* 12th Session, 1949, pp. 101 f.

most important hill at the heart of this kingdom was Kṛṣṇagiri referred to in the *Gañjām Copper Plates* of Mādhavarāja.[1] This hill may be identified with the Kanhagiri of the *Nāsik Inscription* of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi.[2] Kṛṣṇagiri is situated close to the village Phāsi (Phāsika) and is surrounded by numerous temples and icons of the early mediaeval times.

The fortune of Koñgoda maṇḍala, however, sank low after the decline and fall of the Śailodbhava dynasty in the first half of the 8th century A. D. and subsequently it was reduced to a district (*viṣaya*) of Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī,[3] when the Bhauma-Karas became the suzerain power of both the Toṣalīs.

Śvetaka Maṇḍala

A branch of the Eastern Gañga is known to have established itself to the North-east of the Mahendra hill and named the territory as Śvetakādhirājya which may be classed with the other maṇḍala States of the period. The Śvetaka Gañgas were very likely the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas and many of them used in their official records the era founded by the Bhaumas. The find spots of the copper plate grants of the rulers of Śvetaka indicate that this territory was located in the South-eastern part of Gañjām district comprising the ex-zamindaries of Sānkhimeḍi, Baḍakhimeḍi and Chikiṭi.

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1. *E. I.* VI, pp. 143-146.
2. Bhandarkar's identification with 'Kānheri' is doubtful. *I. A.* XLVII, 1918, p. 151.
3. See the copper plate grants of Daṇḍī Mahādevī *E. I.* VI, pp. 137 f. *Ibid* pp. 141 f and *J. B. O. R. S.* V, pp. 564 f.

The capital of this territory was called Śvetaka or Vijayaśvetakapura, and the identification of it presents some difficulties. Subba Rao[1] identifies Śvetaka with modern Śrīkurmaṁ and Somasekhara Sarma[2] identifies it with Chikaṭi in the Gañjāṁ district. R. C. Majumdar[3] suggests that Śvetaka is the same as the modern village of Saḍaka near Chikaṭi. According to some scholars the original name of the place was probably Ścheṭaka which has been represented by the composers of the royal charters in the Śānskritised form Śvetaka and the modern Chikaṭi (Chikiṭi) may be considered as the variant form of the name Ścheṭaka.[4] Most of the copper plate grants of the rulers of Śvetaka have come to light near Chikiṭi, which is situated close to the river Vāhudā. This river finds mention in the *Mahābhārata*[5], *Harivaṁśa*,[6] and also in the *Śiva Purāṅa*[7] and is declared to be highly sacred and celebrated in all these works. It appears plausible to identify Chikiṭi near the Vāhudā with the Victorious Śvetakapura of the Gañgas.

Kodālaka Maṇḍala

This maṇḍal is known from the copper plate grants of the Śulki rulers of Orissa and in the light of those grants it may be said that this territory comprised roughly the modern Dheñkānāl district of Orissa.

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1. *J. A. H. R. S.* III, p. 184.
2. *J. O.* R. XI, p. 58.
3. *E. I.* XXVII p. 112.
4. Dr. Chhabra observes that the term Ścheṭaka can be explained philologically to be the same as the modern Chikiṭi, the intervening forms being Ścheṭaka (through metathesis), Chikaṭa, Chikaṭi, and finally Chikiṭi in popular parlance. *E. I.* XXIV, p. 133.
5. *Śānti Parva*, XXII.
6. *Harivaṁśa*, XII.
7. *Śiva Purāṇa* VI, 60.

Hara Prasad Śāstrī[1] while editing the Jarāgrāma grant of the Śulki king Raṇastaṁbha, placed Kodālaka maṇḍala in modern Midnapur district of West Bengal on erroneous suppositions. R. D. Banerji strongly supports the view of Śāstrī and argues about the location of Kodālaka maṇḍala in the following words.[2]

"As proved by my teacher Mahāmahopādhyāya, Dr. Hara Prasad Sastri, this Charter of Raṇastaṁbha records the donation of some land in the village of Jarā in the sub-district (Khaṇḍa) to a Brāhmaṇa named Pauchuka, son of Hari, grandson of Bāghu of the Kāṇva Śākhā of the Yajur-Veda. After mentioning the boundaries of the land to be granted the scribe mentions that the Khaṇḍa was situated in the district (Maṇḍala) of Rāḍha. Rāḍha has already been proved by me to belong to Western Bengal, consisting of the major part of the modern Burdwan division. The village and sub-district of Jarā has been correctly identified by the learned editor of this plate with a village of that name in the modern district of Hooghly. Jarā was until lately a very large village near the boundary of the districts of Hooghly and Midnapur. The learned editor also notes that there is a body of cultivators in the district of Midnapur who call themselves Śukli and trace their origin to a place called Kedālokā. The term Śukli has been produced without any doubt, by the modern Śanskritizing tendency from the old Śulki, and Kedālokā is without doubt the Kodālaka of the inscription. The Śulkis, therefore, belong to Northern Orissa, which once contained the modern district of Midnapur. With the exception of this information there is nothing of historical importance in the whole range of Śulki inscriptions."

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1. *J. B. O. R. S.* IV, pp. 169 f.
2. *History of Orissa, Vol.* I pp., 195-96

Unfortunately Śāstrī and Banerji failed to notice that in the grant under discussion Rāḍha maṇḍala has no territorial connection with Jarā khaṇḍa. The record clearly mentions that the Brāhmaṇa named Pāchuka (not Pauchuka) who was donated land in the village Jarā in Jarā-khaṇḍa originally came from Tellañgala-bhaṭṭagrāma in Rāḍha manḍala. Thus, the maṇḍala of Rāḍha was the home land of the Brāhmaṇa donee, who migrated to Kodālaka maṇḍala and got the grant of land in the village Jarā. This village may be identified with Jārapaḍā in Dheñkānāl district and not with Jaṛā (Jaḍā) in Hooghly district. It may also be pointed out that places like Koñkula, Goyila, Kañkavirā, Chakalikā, etc. may be identified with modern Kañkulu, Goyilu, Koñkarāi, Chakaliā respectively in Dheñkāñal district and not a single place of the Śulki copper plate grants can be located in Hooghly and Midnapur districts of West Bengal. The capital of Kodālaka maṇḍala was at Kodālaka, identified with modern Koālu in Dheñkānāl district, and monumental relics of the early medi eval period are found in this village even at present. The river Śañkhajoṭi mentioned in the *Dheñkānāl grant* of Kulastaṁbha can be no other than the present Brāhmaṇī river and in fact, this river in its upper course, is even today named as Śañkha.[1]

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1. Pt. B. Misra describes the course of this river as follows :— "The Śañkha flows in a southernly direction, forming the boundary line between Jashpur State and Simdeg for some distance and joins with the Palamara, and from this confluence runs for some miles in south easternly direction joins with the Koel, coming from a northernly direction, at Pānposh in the Gangpur State. Now the joint stream flows in a southernly direction under the name Brāhmaṇī through Gangpur, Bonai and Bamra and enters the Dhenkanal State whence it runs eastward." *D, M. O.* p. 27

The Śukli cultivators in Midnapur and the Śukli weavers in Siñghbhūm and some parts of Orissa, may be regarded as the present day descendants of the Śulkis of Kodālaka maṇḍala. The fact that the Śuklis of Midnapur trace their origin to a place named Kedālakā is significant as Kedālakā is very likely the same as Kodālaka—the Dheñkānāl region of Orissa.[1]

Yamagartta Mandala.

The second half of the 9th century A. D. witnessed the fall of the Śulkis and the rise of two new maṇḍalas—Yamagartta and Airāvaṭṭa comprising parts of Kodālaka maṇḍala. Yamagartta maṇḍala came into prominence under the Tuñga ruling family and it comprised the Northern part of modern Dheñkānāl district and some portion of Keoñjhar district. The place called Koñjari in the *Boṇāi grant* of Vinīta Tuñga[2] has been identified with the present town af Keoñjhar, the headquarters of Keoñjhar district.[3] Villages like Tuñkeraa, Veñduñga, Toro and Khaṁbāi are identified with the modern Tonkour, Balañga, Thorakoṭa and Khaṁbāri respectively located in the Pāllaharā region.[4] The capital town Yamagartta is, however, difficult to be properly identified. The *Dheñkānāl plates*[5] of Jayasiṁha the ruler of Yamagartta maṇḍala was issued from a place which has been described as the *Mandākinīkūla Vāsaka.* It thus indicates that the capital

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1. Dr. D. C. Sircar has advanced the same opinion in *E. I. XXVIII*, p. 111
2. *J. B. O. R. S.*, VI., pp. 238-40.
3. B. Misra, *D. M. O.* p. 40.—Keoñjhar is locally called Keñjhara although it is commonly expressed as Kendujhar in other parts of Orissa.
4. The identifications are of Pt. B. Misra.
5. *J. B. O. R. S.* II pp. 417-19.

Yamagartta was located on the bank of a river named Mandākinī. Judging from the location of Yamagartta maṇḍala we are inclined to identify this river with the present Mañkarā [1] which starts from the Western part of Keoñjhar district and passing through the Pāllaharā subdivision of Dheñkānāl district meets the river Brāhmaṇi near Banor. Two small villages named Jāmrā and Jāmirḍihi are situated in the valley of this river, not far off its course, and one of them may be said to have represented the mediaeval town of Yamagartta.[2]

The Tuñgas are known to have hailed from a place called Rohitāsa which according to R. D. Banerji[3] is the same as modern Roṭāsgarh in Bihar.

Airāvaṭṭa Maṇḍala.

The Nandodbhavas ruled over Airāvaṭṭa maṇḍala from its headquarters Jayapura which is tentatively identified with a village of that name in the South of Dheñkānāl district.[4] The headquarters seems to have been so named after Jayānanda, the first known ruler of the Nandodbhava line. The copper plate records of the family indicate that Airāvaṭṭa maṇḍala was an extensive territory comprising Southern part of Dheñkānāl district, Western part of Cuttack district and almost the whole of the Nayāgarh subdivision of Purī district. It was bounded by Yamagartta maṇḍala in the North and according to B. Misra "the hill

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1. Pt. B. Misra's identification of this river with the stream flowing under the name Mandākinī near Jājpur in Cuttack district can not be accepted.
2. B. Misra suggests identification either with Jāmagāḍiā in Añgul subdivision or with Jomurḍī near Pāllaharā.
3. *J. A. S. B.* XII, (New series) 1916, pp. 291-95.
4. Pt. B. Misra is inclined to identify this place with Nandapur in Añgul.

ranges running on the Southern border of the (ex) States of Raṇpur and Nayāgarh seem to have formed the natural Southern boundary of the Airāvaṭṭa maṇḍala."[1] In the opinion of this scholar the modern Ratāgarh near Bāñki in Cuttack district represents the old name Airāvaṭṭa. Places like Taramura and Jilandā have been identified respectively with modern Talamūl in Añgul subdivision of Dheñkānāl and Jiliṇḍā in Nayāgarh subdivision of Purī district. Airāvaṭṭa maṇḍala also finds mention in the *Narasiñgpur Charter*[2] of Uddyotakeśari (cir. 11th cen. A. D.), wherefrom it is known that the villages Kaṇṭalaṇḍa and Lavakaraḍa, identified with modern Kaṇṭilo and Karaḍa respectively in the above subdivision of Purī district, were situated within this territory.

The epithet 'Lord of all Gondramas' or 'Lord of eighteen Gondramas' is found to have been borne by several kings of Śulki, Tuñga and Nandodbhava families. This probably indicates the same as the traditional Oriya expression of "Aṭhara Garjāt" signifying the ex-princely states of Orissa.

Khiñjali Maṇḍala.

This maṇḍala was under the rule of the Bhañjas, during the 8th - 9th century A. D. Hiralal[3] identifies Khiñjali with Keoñjhar but this does not seem tenable as none of the places and rivers mentioned in the copper plate charters of the Bhañja rulers of Khiñjali can be located in Keoñjhar region. In this consideration, B. Misra's identification[4] of Khiñjali with Iñjili in Añgul may also be ruled

1. B. Misra op.-cit. p. 34.
2. *J. B. O. R. S.* XVII, pp. 1-24.
3. *E. I.* XVIII, P. 300.
4. *Op. cit.* p. 43.

out. From internal evidences of the Bhañja copper plate grants, Khiñjali maṇḍala may be said to have comprised the modern Sonepur and Baud region. Places like Royarā, Jayantamurā, Sivirā, Kumurkelā of the Bhañja plates can be identified with Rahilā, Janmurā, Subuliā, and Kumarkeli respectively in the Sonepur region, while places like Gandhaṭapāṭi (Gandhrvvāḍi) Urjakhaṇḍa, Valāsṛñga, Tulāsiñgā etc., of the same charters are identified with present Gandharāḍi, Marjākud, Bālsiñg, and Tulasiñgi respectively in the Baud region. Moreover the rivers like the Tel, Vyāghra and Sālañki mentioned in the charters are even today known by the same names and are flowing in the Baud-Sonepur region. The capital of Khiñjali maṇḍala was at Dhṛtipura, a place which is now difficult to be properly identified. But the rich antiquities of Baud town warrant a strong supposition that this place was the headquarters of the Bhañja kings of Khiñjali maṇḍala before it assumed its Buddhistic significance.

Khiñjali maṇḍala was extensive in area and in the epigraphic records it has often been referred to as *Ubhaya Khiñjali,* which indicates that this maṇḍala was divided into two parts. To all probability the river Mahānadī divided the Khiñjali maṇḍala into two administrative divisions, such as Uttara Khiñjali and Dakṣiṇa Khiñjali. The viṣayas named Uttarapalli and Dakṣiṇapalli mentioned in the *Taspaikerā*[1] and *Siñgharā*[2] *charters* respectively of Raṇabhañja were probably so named because of their location in Northern and Southern divisions of Khiñjali maṇḍala. Uttarapalli is indentified with modern Utrāpāli situated to the North of the Mahānadī, and Dakṣiṇapalli with Ḍākpāli situated to the South of the same river on the bank of its tributary Solāñki.

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1. *J. B. O. R.* S. II, pp. 167-177
2. *Ibid*, pp. 481-586.

The town of Gandhaṭapāṭi apparently founded by the Bhañja king Śatrubhañja Gandhaṭa, was a very important place of Khiñjali maṇḍala. It contained the twin temples of Siddheśwara and Nilamādhava and was famous for religious synthesis between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. After the fall of the Bhañjas of Dhṛtipura, Khiñjali maṇḍala appears to have been renamed as Gandhaṭapāṭi maṇḍala with Gandhaṭapāṭi as headquarters. The *Nibinnā grant*[1] of the Somavaṃśī king Yayāti I - Mahāśivagupta, records the gift of Nivinā or Nibinnā in Uttarapalli viṣaya of Gandhaṭapāṭi maṇḍala. Gandhaṭapāṭi as pointed out above is the same as the modern village Gandharāḍi about eight miles to the West of Baudh.

When the Bhañjas of Khiñjali maṇḍala were ousted by the Somavaṁśīs in circa 9th century A. D., they migrated to the South-east and established themselves in the Ghumsur-Dasapallā region in modern Gañjāṁ and Purī districts. The new territory was also named as Khiñjali and the places like Machchhaḍā, Tundurava and Rāmalvava etc., mentioned in the royal charters of this branch may be identified with Machhuā near Dasapallā, Tendra near Āska, and Ravagaḍa respectively in the above region. The capital town Vañjulvaka has not yet been properly identified and B. Misra suggests Bañjaniā in Ghumsur as its modern representative.[2] About the middle of the 10th century the headquarters of the Bhañjas again shifted from Vañjulvaka to Kumārapura identical with a village of the same name near Berhampur in Gañjāṁ district. Besides the royal houses of Vañjulvaka and Kumārapura, another Bhañja ruling family is found to have granted charters from

1. E. I. XI, pp. 96-97.
   The name Gandhaṭapāṭi maṇḍala has been wrongly read as Ganuṭapāta maṇḍala.
2. *D. M. O.* p. 48.

Kolāḍa-Kaṭaka which is probably no other than the modern Kulāḍa in Gañjām district, and this place continued to be the headquarters of a Bhañja ruling family as late as the British period.

Khijjiñga Maṇḍala.

This maṇḍala was located in Northern Orissa comprising modern Mayūrbhañj and part of Keoñjhar district, and was under the rule of a branch of Bhañja family about the 10th century A. D.

The headquarters was at Khijjiñgakoṭṭa identified with modern village Khichiñg in Mayūrbhañj district. Extensive ruins of the old Khijjiñgakoṭṭa are seen here at the confluence of the two hill-streams named Khairabhaṇḍan on the North and Kaṇṭākhair on the South. The joint stream meets the river Vaitaraṇī only three miles below.[1] Thus Khijjiñgakoṭṭa occupied an important strategic position which was conducive to its growth and prosperity.

The place named Koṭṭāśrama, which is regarded as the cradle of this family has been identified with Kuṭiñg only 32 miles from Baripada, the headquarters of the district.[2] The royal charters mention a number of places like Jaṁbupadraka, Timandira, Koraṇḍiyā, Devakuṇḍa, etc. which are without doubt the same as the modern Jamdā, Tendrā, Karañjiā, and Devakuṇḍa respectively located in the same district. These places are known to be situated in the district of Uttara khaṇḍa of the Khijjiñga territory. It is not known whether there was a Dakṣiṇa khaṇḍa or not. The location of modern Khichiñg which was the capital of Khijjiñga-realm indicates that a considerable portion of the present Siñghbhūm-Keoñjhar districts formed a part of this territory and in that case the Keoñjhar portion very likely comprised the Dakṣiṇa khaṇḍa.

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1. *J. B. O. R. S.* XIII, p. 131.
2. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, p. 180.

Daṇḍabhukti Maṇḍala

Daṇḍabhukti came to light as a separate political unit as early as the time of Śaśāṅka, the ruler of Karṇa-suvarṇa. In the 8th regnal year of this king Daṇḍabhukti was under the charge of Mahāpratihāra Śubhakīrtti,[1] while in his 19th regnal year it was being ruled by a Sāmanta Mahārāja named Somadatta[2] who had jurisdiction over both Utkal and Daṇḍabhukti. During the rule of the Bhauma-Karas Daṇḍabhukti flourished as a maṇḍala probably under the rule of a branch of the Bhañja family. The two *Baud Copper plates*[3] of Tribhuvana Mahādevī, both dated in the Bhauma year 158 (i.e. A.D. 894), reveal that at the time of their issue Daṇḍabhukti maṇḍala was under the administration of Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Śrī Mañgalakalasa and that the plates were issued at the request of Śaśīkalā the wife of Mañgalakalasa. Śaśīkalā belonged to the Brāgaḍi branch of the Virāṭa family who were ruling over Kaptipadā region of modern Mayūrbhañj district, with their headquarters at Koiñsāri which is known as Virāṭapura even at present.[4]

Daṇḍabhukti maṇḍala roughly comprised the modern Midnapur district of West Bengal, and it was divided into a few Viṣayas or districts out of which only two-Tamāla khaṇḍa and Dakṣiṇa-khaṇḍa are known to us from the above records. These two viṣayas may be equated with the *parganas* of Tāmluk and Dakinmal respectively found in the Moghul revenue accounts.[5]

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1. *J. A. S. B.* XI. pp. 1-9
2. *Ibid.*
3. *E. I.* XXIX. pp. 210-20.
4. N. N. Vasu, *Arch, Surv. Mayurbhanj*, p. 72
5. *Fifth Report* II, p. 457

Baṇāi Maṇḍala[1]

This maṇḍala came into light about the 10th century A.D., when it was under the rule of the kings belonging to Mayūra or Maurya family. The *Boṇāi Copper plate grant*[2] of Udaya Varāha reveals that this family hailed from Chitrakūṭa which has been identified with Chitor in Rājastan, where a Maurya family were actually ruling during the mediaeval period.[3] Baṇāi maṇḍala comprised the Eastern portion of modern Sundargarh district and a part of Deogarh subdivision of Sambalpur district. the *Boṇāi grant* referred to above mentions one of its viṣayas named Rokelā, which may be identified with the modern steel town of Rourkela. There was close relationship between the Mayūras of Baṇāi maṇḍala and the Bhañjas of Khijjiñga maṇḍala and B. Misra[4] rightly believes that the name Mayūrbhañja of the State which came into existence at a subsequent time, owes its origin to the names of Mayūra and Bhañja families. The peacock emblem of the Mayūra rulers was adopted by the Bhañja kings of Mayūrbhañja and also by other Bhañja families in different parts of Orissa. Of all the Maṇḍala states discussed here, the name of Baṇāi continues till the present time as the name of an administrative unit.

Khiṇḍiraśṛñga Maṇḍala

The *Pāṇḍiāpathara Copper Plate Inscription*[5] reveals that during the first-half of the 10th century A.D. scions of the Nala family were ruling over Khiṇḍiraśṛñga maṇḍala. S. N. Rajguru locates this maṇḍala between Kaliñga maṇḍala of

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1. Wrongly read as Talāimaṇḍala by Mm. H. P. Śāstrī.
2. *J. B. O. R. S.* VI, pp. 236-45, *Ibid.* XXXI, prt, 3.
3. *Proceedings I. H, C.* 1960, pp. 86-88
4. *D. M. O.* p. 62
5. *O. H. R. J.* VI, pp. 97 f.

the Gañgas and Khiñjali mandala of the Bhañjas and according to him its headquarters Bhīmapura is the same as the present Bhīmanagara surrounded by hills and forest on all sides and found in the sheet no. 74 A/11 of the Survey of India map.[1] Khiṇḍiraśṛñga also finds mention in the *Madras Museum Plates*[2] of the time of Narendradahavala, which appear earlier than the *Pāṇḍia Pathara plates* and may be ascribed to the 9th century A. D. By that time Khiṇḍiraśṛñga had within its jurisdiction another maṇḍala which was known as Śomuṇḍa maṇḍala. The identification of places like Kurmatalāgrāma in Khiṇḍiraśṛñga maṇḍala, and Taḍeśvaragrāma in Somuṇḍa maṇḍala of Khiṇḍira-śṛñga is not possible at present. The modern village Sumandala in Gaṇjām district probably represents the name of the old Śomuṇḍa maṇḍala. It may, however, be pointed out that the territory named Giḍrisiñgi[4] conquered by Vanapati the general of the Gañga king Rājarājadeva (1069-77 A.D.) was quite likely the same as Khiṇḍiraśṛñga. D. C. Sircar[5] who is inclined to associate the Dhavalas of Śomuṇḍa maṇḍala with the present Dhalbhūm or Dhavala bhūmi in Singhbhūm district of Bihar, expresses doubt about this identification. His suggestion for identification of Khiṇḍiraśṛñga with Kandarsiñghā in the S. I. sheet map 73 H/5 a2, about which he himself is not definite, does not seem tenable in view of its location far in the north beyond the river Brāhmaṇī. The

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1. *Ibid* p. 99
2. *E. I.* XXVIII, pp. 44 f.
3. Dr. D, C, Sircar, reads it as 'Gomuṇḍa maṇḍala' and suggests an alternative reading 'Mo muṇḍa maṇḍala'. Sri S. N. Rajguru, also has accepted the name Go·muṇḍa maṇḍala, But the letter 'Śo' is quite distinct inpsite of the damage in the original plate.
4. *E. I*, IV p. 318
5. *E. I*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 49.

Zamindaris (since abolished) of Dharākoṭa, Baḍagaḍa, Seragaḍa, and Soraḍā in Gañjāṁ district were collectively known as Khiḍisiñgi[1] and it may be said that these estates comprised the heart of Khiṇḍiraśṛñga maṇḍala in the 10th century A.D.

Chakrakoṭṭa Maṇḍala

This maṇḍala, variantly known as Chakrakoṭṭa[2], Chakrakuṭa[3], Chakrakoṭya[4] Sakkara Koṭṭaṁ[5], Chakragoṭṭa[6] and Kukkuṭa[7], was under the rule of the Chindaka Nāgas in the 11th-12th century A.D. It was located between Veñgī and South Kosala over which the Chālukyas and the Somavaṁśīs respectively had their sway. It thus comprised the parts of the present districts of Bastar in Madhya Pradesh and Koraput in Orissa. The Eastern part of this territory was sometime

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1. V. Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency,* Vol. III, P. 671, note) gives the following account on Dharākota, "This is the seat of an ancient zamindari, adjoining Baḍagaḍa on the north and Goomsur on the east. It was originally a part of Khiṇḍishingy zamindari, alleged to be founded by Sobab Chandra Singha, in A.D. 1168-1206. It became a separate zamindari in 1476, when Boliyar Singh divided the original estate into four divisions. (vide *Madras Manual*, III PP. 269-70)"
   By courtesy of Śrī S. N. Rajguru.
   It my be pointed out that the family of the Rājā of Dharākoṭa belongs to Nala dynasty, while that of the Rājā of Domparā in Cuttack district belongs to Dhala or Dhavala dynasty. It is not precisely known when the Dhavalas shifted from Gañjāṁ district to Domparā in Cuttack District.
2. *E. I.* X, pp. 39-40.
3. *Ibid* pp. 25 f.
4. *E. I.* IX, pp. 174 f.
5. *S.I.I.* Vol. II, pt. i, pp, 108-09
6. Hiralal, *Insc. of C P. & Berar*, p. 166
7. *E.I.* Vol, I, p. 32 f.

known as Bhramarakoṭya maṇḍala. Hiralal[1] is inclined to believe that Bhramarakoṭya maṇḍala is apparently an alternative name of Chakrakoṭya maṇḍala. But the *Rajapura Plates*[2] of Madhurāntakadeva mention both the maṇḍalas side by side, thus ruling out the possibility of their identification. The inscription, however, indicates that the maṇḍala of Bhramarakoṭya was under the jurisdiction of Chakrakoṭya maṇḍala. Bhramarakoṭya is probably the same as Bhramaravadra mentioned in the *Rājim Stone Inscription*[3] of Jagapāladeva and this place may be identified with the modern town of Amarkot in Koraput district. The capital of Chakrakoṭṭa maṇḍala was located at Barasura identified with present Barsur (in Bastar) on the right bank of the river Indrāvatī, a tributary of the Godāvarī. The modern Chitrakuṭa very likely represents the name Chakrakoṭṭa (Chakrakuṭa).

Later Maṇḍalas.

The Maṇḍala states discussed above belong to the period of the Bhauma-Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa and while some of them like Kodālaka, Śvetaka. Khiñjali (capital-Dhṛtipura) and Yamagartta ceased to continue after the Bhaumas, others like Airāvaṭṭa, Khiñjali (capital-Vañjulvaka), Khijiñgakoṭṭa, Daṇḍabhukti, Khindiraśṛñga and Chakrakoṭṭa continued to play their role during the Somavaṁśī period. With the fall of the Somavaṁśīs the Maṇḍala states lost their importance and the term 'māṇḍalika'

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1. Hiralal, *op. cit.* p. 164.
2. *E.I.* IX, *pp.* 174 f.
3. *I.A.* XVII, p. 135 f. Hiralal, *op. cit.* p. 108

under the imperial Gañgas denoted to a governor rather than a feudatory. A few semi-independent territories, however, continued even during the palmy days of the Gañgas and in some of them can be seen the political tradition of the old Maṇḍala states. We present below two such later mandalas which developed and flourished in the mountainous regions of South-west Orissa during the rule of the Gañgas. These are Vaddāḍi and Kamala maṇḍala located respectively in modern Koraput and Kalāhāṇḍi districts.

Vaḍḍāḍi Maṇḍala.

This territory was founded sometime in the 11th century A. D.[1], and it came into prominence in the 12th - 13th century A. D. According to Francis, the word 'Vaḍḍāḍi' is derived from Oḍḍa-ādi meaning the beginning of the Oḍḍa (Oḍra) country. G. Ramdas, however, gives a different derivation and according to him the name Oḍḍuvāḍi changed as Oḍḍāḍi or Voḍḍāḍī in course of time. 'Iḍḍu' is a Telugu word meaning 'edge' or 'brink' and 'vāḍi' means a district and Ramdas believes that it is so named because of its situation "on a high land that gradually descends from the hills on to the littoral."[3]

The territory of Vaḍḍāḍi may therefore be located in the valley of the river Matsyeru (Māchkuṇḍ) lying to the West of the Eastern ghāṭs.

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1. *J.K.H.R.S.* II p. 95
2. *Vizagaputam District Gazetteer*, pp. 27-28
3. *J.K.H.R.S.* Ibid p. 91.

Kamala Mandala :

This maṇḍala is khown to us from an inscription* in the old Śiva temple at Narlā in Kālāhaṇḍi district, which states that a king named Madana Mahādeva was ruling over Kamala maṇḍala in the Śaka year 'Rāma Vāṇa Rudra' meaning 3511 i. e. 1153, equivalent to A. D. 1231. Madana Mahādeva was very probably a semi-independent feudatory under the Gañgas. The origin of this maṇḍala is, however, difficult to be determined, but there is reason to believe that this maṇḍala was later on transformed as the feudatory State of Kālāhāṇḍi under the Nāga chiefs. The name Kālāhāṇḍi is quite possibly a later variant of Kamala maṇḍala and the territory is known by this name in the *Dadhivāmana temple inscription** of Junāgaḍa dated in Yugābda 4819 i. e., A. D. 1718.

Extent of South Kosala

'Mahākosala' or 'Dakṣiṇa Kosala' is no where mentioned in ancient Brāhmī inscriptions of India. But 'Kosala' meaning Dakṣiṇa Kosala finds mention in the epic and the Purānic literature. The *Vana Parva*[1] describes the places of pilgrimage in Kosala, such as, Ṛṣabhatīrtha, Kālatīrtha, and Badarikā tīrtha which are identified in the present Chhatisgarh region.[2] The *Guñji Rock Inscription*[3] refers to the Ṛṣabhatīrtha (*Bhagavato Usabhatitthe.....*) although the name 'Kosala' is omitted in it. It is further known from the *Vana Parva* that the territory of Kosala was distinct from the kingdom of Vidarbha. The epic represents Nala, who was wandering with Damayanti in the Vindhyan forest, as pointing out the paths to Vidarbha and Kosala in the following words :

* Thess inscriptions are yet unpublished.

1. *Vana Parva*, lxxxiii 10-13.
2. *J.K.H.R.S.* II, no. 1, p. 2.
3. *E. I.* XXVII, pp. 48 f.

"This path leads to Vidarbha, and that one to Kosala beyond that to the South lies Dakṣiṇāpatha".[1]

This reference indicates that Kosala was to the North of Dakṣiṇāpatha and was probably adjacent to Vidarbha.

The Purānic literature refers to the Megha dynasty of Kosala in association with the people of Mekala and the tribes like Puṣyamitras and Paṭumitras.[2] It also mentions the people of Kosala associating them with the dwellers in the Vindhya regions.

In the epic Kosala (South Kosala) is not included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. But the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* enumerates Kosala along with the territories of the Dakṣiṇāpatha and associates it with Mahākāntāra and the kingdoms of the Kaliñg region.[4] H. C. Ray Chaudhuri indentifies this Kosala of the (*Allahabad Inscription*) with the territory comprising the modern Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur districts.[5]

The *Bālghāṭ Plates* of the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena reveals that Kosala during the post-Samudragupta period was for sometime included in the Vākāṭaka empire along with Mekala and Mālava.[6]

During the 6th-7th century A. D., Kosala was under the rule of the Sarbhapurīya rulers who used the Gupta era

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1. एष पन्था विदर्भाणामसौ गच्छति कोसलान् ।
   अतः परं च देशोऽयं दक्षिणे दक्षिणापथः ॥
   Vana Parva, lviii. 22-
2. *Viṣṇu purāṇa*, IV, 24. 17; Wilson, IX, P 213.
3. *I. A.* LXII, p. 162
4. *C.I.I.* Vol. III, p. 13.
5. Ray Chaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 1950, p. 538
6. *E. I.* IX p. 271.

and issued Gupta coin types. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chawng, who visited Kosala in 639 A.D., describes the kingdom as 6,000 li in circuit and about 1,800 li away from the capital of Kalīṅga to the North-west[1]. On the basis of description of the Chinese pilgrim Cunningham[2] presents the boundaries of Kosala as comprising "the whole of the Upper valley of the Mahānadī and its tributaries from the source of the Narbadā from Amarkaṇṭak in the North to the Mahānadī itself near Kāṅker on the South, and from the valley of the Wen Gaṅgā on the West to the Hasdo and Joaṅk rivers in the East". He, further points out that this territory has often been extended so as to embrace the hilly districts of Maṇḍlā and Balaghāt on the West upto the banks of the Wen Gaṅgā and the middle valley of the Mahānadī on the East down to Sambalpur and Sonepur.

Hiralal[3] suggest modifications of the boundaries of Kosala as described by Cunningham and states that "Cunningham, in order to complete the area on Chinese pilgrim's scale included a part of the Vākāṭaka country which he placed in Berar, but it is not necessary to do this, in as much as the deficiency can be covered by some States of Orissa bordering on Sambalpur in which Somavaṁśī inscriptions have been found, which prove that they formed parts of Kosaladeśa mentioned in them.....these are the States of Pātnā, Bāmrā, Sonepur and Rairākhol....."

The territorial extent of Kosala continued to be more or less the same under the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs who ruled during the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. About the middle of the 9th century

1. *Watters*, II, p. 200.
2. *A. S. R.* XVII, (1881-82) pp. 68-69.
3. *I. A.* LXII, p. 162.

the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala occupied Śrīpura region and first Tummāṇa and later Ratnapur became their political head-quarters.[1] It was by that time that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs, then known as 'Somavaṁśīs', shifted themselves to the Eastern quarters and established their political power in the territory comprising the present Sambalpur and Bolangir districts and parts of Kalāhāṇḍi district. It was this territory which passed by the name Kosala in the copper plate charters of the Somavaṁśī kings. Places like Kosiragrāma, Satallamā, Kasaloḍā, Tulaṇḍā, Vinitapur, Suvarṇapura, Murisimā, Kiserkellā, Arkigrāma, Vaidyapadraka, Khadirapadraka etc., found in the copper plate charters of the Somavaṁśī kings, can be identified respectively with modern Kosir in the Chandrapur tract of Raigharh district - close to the border of Sambalpur; Satlamā, Kusardā, Tulaṇḍi in Sambalpur district; Binkā, Sonepur, Mursimā, Kesarkelā, Arigān in Bolangir district and Vaijpadar and Khairpadar in Kalāhāṇḍi district. The Somavaṁśīs held sway over Trikaliṅga penetrating probably through the Kalāhāṇḍi tract while they forcibly occupied the Khiñjali maṇḍala by driving out the Bhañjas of Dhṛtipura to the South-east. Subsequently, by the middle of the 10th century A. D., the Bhauma-Kara empire comprising the Northern and Southern Toṣalīs passed into the hands of the Samvaṁśīs, and as pointed out above this territory consisting of both the Toṣalīs became commonly known as Utkala. The unification of Kosala and Utkala was effected by Yayāti II Mahāśivagupta, but during the rule of his son Udyotakeśarī the Kosala portion was recognised as a separate territory and was placed under the rule of a scion of the colateral branch

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1. H. C. Roy, *D. H. N. I.*, vol. I, pp. 330, 470, 578.

of the Somavaṃśīs. The separation of Kosala and Utkala was made out of political and military necessity in order to encounter the formidable attack of the Gaṅgas over Utkala and the repeated encroachments of the Kalachuris over Kosala. The *Kelgā plates*[1] of the Somavaṃśī Kumāra Someśvara reveal that after separation the Kosala portion was ealled the Paśchima Laṅkā, but the Utkala portion was never known as the Pūrva Laṅkā.

The Somavaṃśīs in Kosala were, however, eventually supplanted by the Telugu - Choḍas, who occupied that territory as feudatories of the Chindaka-Nāgas of Chakrakoṭṭa by the middle of the 11th century A. D. The Kalachuris of Ḍāhala were thus kept in check for a period and inspite of their temporary success in irregular skirmishes they failed to oust the Telugu - Choḍas from Kosala. The *Ratnapur Inscription*[2] of Jājalla I dated 1114 A. D. reveals that Someśvara II the last Telugu - Choḍa king was defeated by Jājalladeva as a result of which the Sambalpur-Sonepur region passed to the hands of the Kalachuris. Choḍagaṅga-deva who had then annihilated the rule of the Somavaṁśīs over Utkala made vigorous efforts to occupy the Kosala portion of the Somavaṁśī dominion but his attempts were foiled by the superior military strength of the Kalachuris. Subsequently, during the rule of Anaṅgabhīma III (1212-1238), the Gaṅgas could occupy the Sonepur-Sambalpur region[3] and from that time onwards this region became an integral part of Orissa.

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1. *E. I.* vol. XII pp. 239 f.
2. *E. I.* Vol I. pp. 32 f.
3. *J. A. S. B.* (old series), LXVIII, 1898, pt. i. pp. 322-26.

Capital of Kosala

The capital of Kosala at the time of invasion of Samudragupta in the middle of the 4th century A.D., has not yet been clearly assigned and the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* is silent about its location. Under the Śarabhapurīya rulers (6th-7th century A. D.) the capital was at Śarabhapura, the identification of which presents considerable difficulty. Sten Konow[1] suggests that Sarabhavaram, a village about 35 miles to the North-west of Rajahmundry may be the same as Śarabhapura, but this cannot be accepted on the simple reason that the village is located far off the limit of the territory over which the Śarabhapurīyas had their sway. Cunningham's identification of the place either with modern Arwi in Wardha district or with Sambalpur the head-quarters of the district of that name is open to doubt.[2] B. V. Krishnarao[3] being unable to locate the place concludes that "the ancient city must have been destroyed and gone out of existence". L. P. Pandeya[4] suggests that Śarabhapura may be identified with modern Sarabhgarh, the chief town of the ex-zamindari of that name in the district of Sundargarh. The identification of Pandeya appears more acceptable, on consideration of similarity of names than that of other scholars who differently suggest Sambalpur, Sārañggarh[5], Saraphagarh and some other places. The capital however, was later on shifted to Śrīpura in Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh as known from the *Ṭhākurdiyā grant*[6] of king Pravararāja of this dynasty.

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1. *E. I.* XIII, p. 108.
2. *Arch. Surv. Ind.* XVII, pp. 57 f.
3. *Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa*, p. 647.
4. *Proceedings of the Fifth Orient Conf.* pp. 461 f.
5. Vide opinion of Fleet, *C. I. I.* III, pp. 191 f.
6. *E. I.* XXII, pp. 15 f.

The Śarabhapurīyas were superseded by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs towards the close of the 7th century A. D., and under the latter Śrīpura continued to be the headquarters of Kosala. It was from this city that the *Balodā*[1] and *Rājim*[2] *plates* of Mahāśivagupta Tivaradeva were issued. Śrīpura is identified with modern Sirpur on the Mahānadī 37 miles North-east of Raipur and about 30 miles off the border of Sambalpur district. The place is full of old relics and has some early medieval temples all of which excepting two are now in ruins. These two are the temples of Lakṣmaṇa and Gandheśwara and they contain a number of important inscriptions belonging to the time of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs.

The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs were driven out of Śrīpura probably by the Kalachuris in the 9th century A.D., when they shifted to the Eastern part of Kosala comprising modern Sambalpur–Bolangir districts and assumed the popular family name Somavaṁśī. Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta, the early Somavaṁśī king seems to have no fixed headquarters as he was staying at different places like Suvarṇapura, Murasimā, Pārāvatakula, Kaṭaka etc., during his rule. His son Yayāti I Mahāśivagupta made Vinitapura his capital and resided there atleast upto his 15th regnal year after which he shifted to a new township named after him as Yayātinagara. Scholars like Hiralal[3] and R.D. Banerji[4] are of opinion that Vinitapura was renamed Yayātinagara by the king and as such, there was no occasion for shifting of the headquarters. The difficulty, however, arises when the modern village of Binkā on the Mahānadī is taken to be the representative of the medieval township of Vinitapura—a fact rightly accepted by these two

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1. *E. I.* VII, pp. 106 f.
2. *C. I. I.* III, pp. 291 f.
3. Hiralal, *Insc. of C. P. & Berar*, p. 104.
4. *History of Orissa*, I. p. 216.

scholars and others.[1] It is not understood why the name Binkā would be derived from the older name Vinitapura when that name had underwent important change in nomenclature. Hiralal argues "This name (Yayātinagara) apparently continued to be used as long as Vinitapura remained the capital, atleast in official circles, but, as is well known, the original name usually sticks so persistently in the popular mind that it is difficult to eradicate it. Many a monarch has endeavoured to change the names of big cities and call them after his own, but the old name has usually asserted the ground and apparently the same happened with Vinitapura, which name now can be traced in the corrupted form Binka"[1] The argument is, however, not quite convincing as Yayātinagara continued to be the name of the political headquarters of the Somavaṁśīs for several generations and

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1. Hiralal writes :—

"This is a small town in the Sonepur State, (Since merged with Orissa) 16 miles north of the present capital of that State. It fulfills all the conditions appertaining to Vinitapura and is central to all the camps from which the kings issued their charters. The villages granted, so far as they have been identified, are situated close to and round about Binka. The existence of a village named Rājapali (meaning royal hamlet) within a mile of the present Binka town is significant. There are also remains of a fort close by and a ghāṭ embankment on the Mahanadi. It is remarkable that there are amongst the donees Brāhmana immigrants from Madhyadeśa and even distant Srāvasti in Oudh. Their advent to this remote place may easily be explained by the fact that Binka lay, as it does now, on the high road to Jagannāth Puri one of the four Dhāms or the most sacred places of India, which Hindus, from all corners of the country visited as they still continue to do. Some of these learned Pandits of the celebrated district of Srāvasti might have been induced to settle there, either by the solicitation of the king or by necessity owing to the difficulty of crossing long distances for want of good communications, accentuated by the dangers of the road, which was infested by robbers of all descriptions. *Inse. in C. P. & Berar*, p. 105.

1. Hiralal. *Ibid*, p. 104.

was referred to as such not only in their own records but also in those of their feudatories. During the rule of Yayāti II Mahāśivagupta when Kosala and Utkala were united under one sceptre resulting in the transfer of the capital from Yayātinagara to Guheśvara pāṭaka (Virajā) the latter place was renamed as Abhinava Yayātinagara or simply as Yayātinagara and there is absolutely no reason to believe that it relapsed to its old name Vinitapur as soon as the capital was shifted to Guheśvarapāṭaka and the latter renamed as Yayātinagara. The modern town of Jājpur on the Vaitaraṇī has been rightly identified with the second Yayātinagara, but the modern Binkā cannot possibly be taken to have represented the name of the first Yayātinagara.

It may be pointed out that the extension of the Somavaṁśī kingdom as far as Southern Toṣlī in the East under Yayāti I, necessitated a more centralised headquarters than Vinitapura. Moreover, communication of this town with the Eastern region being suspended for several months (due to flooded rivers like Añg and Tel) in the year, it failed to cater for the need of the growing kingdom. The township of Gandhaṭapāṭi built by the Bhañja kings of Kiñjalimaṇḍala-the territory conquered by the Somavaṁśīs during Janamejaya - seems to have attracted the interest of Yayāti I not only because of its pomp and glory and natural beauty but also of its strategic and centralised location. It was very likely between this town and the right bank of the Mahānadī that the new headquarters was built and named as Yayātinagara after the name of the king. The tiny village which now stands on that very site bears the name Jaktinagar[1] a

1. Sri Narayan Prasad Deo, the late Raja of Baud established a village close to Jaktinagar and named it as Nārāyan-nagar. This village is popularly called Nuāñ-jakti (new Jaktinagar) while the old village is called Puruṇā Jakti (old Jakti).

variant form of the name Yayātinagar and it still retains the ruins of a large medieval fort noticed by R. D. Banerji as early as 1929.[1]

It has been pointed out above that when the kingdoms of Kosala and Utkala were amalgamated by Yayāti II Mahāśivagupta sometime in the middle of the 10th century A. D., the capital was shifted from Yayātinagara to Virajā, which was renamed Yayātinagara. But these two kingdoms were again separated during the rule of his son Udyota Mahābhavagupta and the old Yayātinagara continued for some time as the headquarters of Kosala till it was destroyed by Rājendra Chola about 1023 A. D. Kosala, which was then known as Paśchima Lañkā, came under the possession of the Telugu-Choḍas about the middle of the 11th century A. D., under whom Suvarṇapura, the modern Sonepur, picturesquely situated at the confluence of the Mahānadī and the Tel, was made the capital of the kingdom.

The *Mahadā Copper plates*[2] of the Telugu-Choḍa king Someśvaradeva Varman reveals that the Lañkeśwarī hillock situated in the bed of the Mahānandī (Chitrotpalā) near Suvarṇapura and the perennial whirl-pool named

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1. Prof. R, D. Benerji describes the site as follows-"The Chiefs of Baudh have built a bungalow outside the village of Gandharadi and at a small distance to the North of the bungalow are a pair of ancient temples. These temples were constructed on a stone platform on a high knoll over looking some low ground which at one time was the bed of a branch of the Mahanadi. Standing on the knoll one gets a fine view of the old fort on the river bank as well as of the ruins to the east. It appears that at one time a small river or a branch of the Mahanadi flowed between the village and the fort. (*J. B. O. R. S.* XV. p. 73)
2. *E. I.* XXVIII, pp, 283 f.

Lañkāvartaka[1] lying close to that hillock were considered very sacred during the period. The goddess Lañkeśwarī the presiding deity of Suvarṇapura[2] was being revered by the Tantric Buddists and has been referred to in some Tantric *Sādhanas*.[3] The Lañkāpurī of the Tibetan Buddhist literature can, therefore, be no other than Suvarṇapura.[4]

Extent of Oḍra

The Mahābhārata tradition[5] places the territory of the Oḍras along with those of the Pauṇḍras, Utkalas, Mekalas, Kaliñgas and Āndhras, while according to the tradition recorded by Manu[6] the Oḍra people are associated with the Pauṇḍrakas, Drāviḍas, Kaṁboja, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Palhavas. Chīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas. A

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1. In '*Buddhism in Orissa*' (Published by Utkal University, 1958) at p.149 we have taken 'Lañkāvartaka' as the territory of Lañkā (the word *vartaka* denoting the territory). But as Dr. D. C. Sircar points out Lañkāvartaka may be the whirlpool in the Mahānadī near the present town of Sonepur.
2. Lañkeśwarī is even today regarded as the presiding deity of Sonepur and she is being worshipped in the Lañkeśwarī hillock.
3. *Sādhana Mālā*,, Vol. II p. 427, *Sīdhana* no. 218.
4. Vide *Sīdhana Mālī*, II, Introduction. Lakṣmīkarā, the sister of Siddha Indrabhūti, king of Saṁbhala (Sambalpur) married prince Jalendra of Lañkāpurī.
   We further know that Jayadratha who translated *Saṁbara Tantra* (Tantra of Saṁbhala) into Tibetan was an inhabitant of Lañkāpurī. Dr. P. C. Bagchi (I. H. Q. VI, p. 583) wrongly identifies Lañkā of Jayadratha with the territory of the tribal people called Lañggā, who at present live in the North of Beluchistan. He, however rightly argues that Ceylon was not known as Lañkā during that period and that the '*Chakrasambara Tantra*' had nothing to do with Ceylon the land of Theravāda Buddhism.
   See *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 149.
5. *Vana Parva*, li, 1988; *Bhīṣma*, ix 365; and *Droṇa*, iv, 122.
6. *Manu*, x, 44.

more difinite account about the location of the territory of the Oḍras is met with in the *Natural History* of Pliny in which the Oretes as a people are mentioned as inhabiting the country where stood Mount Maleus.[1] The Greek Oretes has been equated with the Sānskrit Oḍras, and as such, the mount Meleus can be identified with the Malaya-giri or Mālya-giri near modern Pāllaharā. This identification seems all the more plausible because Pliny in another passage associates with Mount Meleus the people called Monedes and Sharis who are probably the same as the Muṇḍās and the Savaras inhabiting even today the upland regions of Orissa.[2]

The earliest epigraphic reference to Oḍras is found in the *Soro Copper Plates* of Somadatta from which it is known that Uttara Toṣalī with its viṣaya of Sarephāhāra (identified with modern Soro in Balasore district) was included in Oḍra viṣaya[3] about the middle of the 7th century A.D. The reference is illuminating because Uttara Toṣalī which was then an extensive territory comprising parts of modern Midnapur and Balasore districts formed a part of Oḍra-viṣaya which must have been then a territory of considerable extent and power.

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who visited Orissa about 636 A. D. gives a vivid account of the territory named 'Wu-cha', which was to all probability the same as Oḍra viṣaya of the *Soro Copper Plates* mentioned above. The

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1. "In Indiae gente Oretum mors est Maleus nomine". *Hist. Nat.* II, 75.
2. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 586.
3. ओड्रविषये उत्तरतोषल्यां सरेफाहारविषये (*E. I.* XXIII p. 202).

The suffix '*Viṣaya*' of the terms Oḍraviṣaya and Sarephāhāra viṣaya conveys two different meanings. In the case of Sarephāhāra, it denotes to a district of Uttara Toṣali, but as Uttara Toṣalī with the district of Sarephāhāra was considered to be a part of Oḍra viṣaya the suffix 'viṣaya' in the case of Oḍra clearly donotes to a larger territory.

pilgrim states that the *Wu-Cha* (Wu-tu) country "was above 7,000 li in circuit and its capital above twenty li in circuit. The soil was rich and fertile yielding fruits larger than those of other lands, and its rare plants and noted flowers could not be enumerated; the climate was hot; the people were of violent ways, tall and of dark complexion..... ..."[1]

The area of the territory which was 7,000 li or 1,400 miles in circuit, was undoubtedly very extensive and General Cunningham while giving the political limits of *Wu-Cha* (Oḍra) country writes as follows :

"The ancient province of Oḍra deśa, or Or-deśa was limited to the valley of Mahānadī and to the lower course of the Suvarṇarekhā river. It comprised the whole of the present districts of Cuttack and Sambalpur and a portion of Midnapore. It was bounded on the west by Gondwana, on the north by the wild hill states of Jashpur and Singhbhum, on the east by the sea and on the south by Ganjam. These also must have been the limits in the time of Hiuen-Tsang as the measured circuit agrees with his estimate."[2]

But the above statement of Cunningham requires some modification regarding the Western extent of the Oḍra country at the time of Yuan-Chwang's visit and as has been said earlier the present districts of Sambalpur Sundargarh and part of Bolangir formed a part of the then South Kosala.

Yuan Chwang locates a famous port named Che-li-ta-lo to the South-east of the Wu-Cha country and a famous Buddhist establishment called *Peu-sie-po-ki-li* on the South-west frontier of the same country, both of which are, however, not yet been properly identified. The word '*Che-li-ta-lo*' has

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1. *Watters*, II, p. 193.
2. Cunningham. op. *cit.* p. 585.

been restored as 'Charitrapura' by Cunningham[1] who identifies it with the present town of Purī, whereas Dr. Waddel[2] suggests the restoration of the word as Chitratola (Chitrotpalā)[3] which according to him is a branch of the Mahānadī at Nendrā near which the site of an old fort indicates the place meant for.

But the Chinese *Che-li-ta-lo* stands neither for Charitra nor for Chitrotpalā. The first part of it *Che-li*-may stand for *Siri* and *ta-lo* may be '*tra*'. So the word can be rendered as 'Śrī-tra' which indicates Śrīkṣetra, the middle syllable 'Kṣe' being dropped. In this consideration Cunningham's identification of the place with the modern town of Purī is acceptable.[4]

As regards the location of *Pue-sie-po-ki-li* the pilgrim states "In a great mountain on the South-west frontiers of the country (Wu-cha) is a Saṁghārāma called Pushpagiri (Peu-sie-po-ki-li)"[5]. St. Julien translates it as "Au milieu d'une grande montagne, qui est située sur les frontières sud-oust du royaume, s'élève un couvent appelé *pou-se-po-k'i-li-seng-kia-lan* (Pouchpagiri Sanghārāma)"[6] Thus both the Engiish and the French renderings leave no room for doubt that Puṣpagiri was located in the South-west frontier of the *Wu-Cha* (Oḍra) country.

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1. *Op. cit.* p. 510.
2. Proceedings of *A. S. B.* December 1892.
3. The poet Sāralā Dāsa (15th century A. D.) applies this name to an extinct river which once extended from the village Chitreśwara to the shrine of Utpaleśwara Śiva on the sea shore not far off the holy Chandrabhāgā where stands the famous temple of Konarak. (*Sāralī Mahābhārata*, Sabhā Parva).
4. R. D. Banerji writes 'In fact, with the exception of Puri there is no other city or port in South Eastern Orissa with which it can be identified'. *History of Orissa* I, p. 138.
5. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, p. 205.
6. Julien, '*Hiouen Thseng*'. I. p. 184.

Cunningham[1], therefore, identifies Puṣpagiri with "the hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri situated 20 miles to the south of Kaṭak, and 5 miles to the west of the grand group of temples at Bhuvaneswara". But these hills were known as Kumārī and Kumāra hills respectively as testified by the inscriptions found in them. Rajendra Lal Mitra[2] identifies Puṣpagiri with Dhaulī on the supposition that the term 'country' or 'royaume' mentioned by the pilgrim, is a mistake for the capital city, which according to him was then located at Bhubaneśwar to the South-west of which is located the Dhaulī hill. The suggeation of Mitra is based on wrong supposition, but scholars like R. P. Chanda, and R. D. Banerji accept the view that Yuan chwang's statement of 'South-west frontier of the Wu-cha country' should be modified as 'South-west of the capital of the Wu-cha country.' R. P. Chanda, thus taking Jājpur (Virajā) as the capital of Wu-cha, identifies Puṣpagiri with the Ratnagiri[3] and R. D. Banerji[4] confirms the same identification

Ratnagiri can not be identified with Puṣpagiri of Yuan Chwang for the simple reason that it can not be placed on the South-west frontier (les frontieres sud-ouest du-royaume) of the far-flung Oḍradeśa (Wu-cha country). The recent excavation has also clearly revealed that the place was known as Ratnagiri and not as Puṣpagiri during the early medieval times.[5]

It is interesting to note that in Gaṅga year 184 (682 A. D.) less than half a century after the visit of

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1. Cunningham, *Op. cit*, p. 587.
2. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, p. 59.
3. *M. A. S. I.* no. 44, *Exploration of Orissa*, p. 6.
4. *History of Orissa*, I. p. 137.
5. Some of the seals found from the Ratnagiri bear the legend '*Ratnagiri Mahā-vihāra*'

Yuan Chwang, a Gañga king of Kaliñga named Devendra-varman registered a copper plate grant[1] in the 'Puṣpagiri Pañchāli viṣaya' probably so named because of its proximity to the famous Puṣpagiri. This indicates that Puṣpagiri which was on the South-western border of the Oḍra country was not far off the Northern boundary of Kaliñga under Devendra-varman. Thus like the 'Mahendragiri', Puṣpagiri also occupied a very conspicuous place in the historical geography of early medieval Orissa, and its location may be suggested in the present Phulbani-Ghumsur region.[2]

In the 8th century A. D., the Bhauma Karas appeared as a great political power ruling over the coastal territory from Midnāpur to Gañjām which they called either Utkala or Toṣalī. In their copper plate charters, this territory was never called Oḍra viṣaya or Oḍra-deśa[3] and in fact, this name came to be applied to an extensive outlying region of the Bhauma Kara dominion. Many copper plate charters of the contemporary ruling dynasties refer to a territory named Oḍradeśa or Oḍra viṣaya the location of which is not difficult to determine. The epigraphic records of the Somavaṁśīs repeatedly mention Oḍradeśa which apparently extended in between the borders of Kosala and Toṣalī. The *Brahmeśwara temple inscription*[4] reveals that Janamejaya I (9th century A. D.) killed in the battle the ruler of Oḍra, who has been identifid with Raṇabhañja

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1. *J. A. H. R.* S. II, pp. 275-76.
2. See N. K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 49-50.
3. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi in his book, *Chronology of the Bhauma Karas and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa*, has mistaken the territory under Bhauma Karas to be the same as Oḍradeśa. As pointed out here such suppcsiton is not substantiated by contemporary records.
4. *J. R A. S. B.* XIII pp. 63 f.

of Khiñjali maṇḍala.[1] That the territory of Khiñjali comprised a part of Oḍradeśa is known from a copper plate charter,[2] issued in the 9th regnal year of Yayāti I, the son of Janamejaya I. This charter registered the grant of the village Chandragrāma (modern Chāndgaon in Cuttack district) in the Marada viṣaya of Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī to a Brahmaṇa named Saṁkhapāṇī who hailed from the village Śilābhañjapāṭi in Oḍra deśa. The village Śilābhañjapāṭi was named after the Bhañja king Śilābhañja and it was obviously located in Khiñjali maṇḍala the territory of the Bhañjas. But since the above copper plates place it in Oḍradeśa there is reason to point out that Khiñjali maṇḍala of the Bhañjas was a part of the Oḍra country. The inscriptions of the Somavaṁśīs further indicate that Airāvaṭṭa maṇḍala also formed part of Oḍradeśa. The *Narasinghpur Charter*[3] of Udyota Mahābhavagupta states that the villages named Kaṇṭaloṇḍa and Lavakaraḍa were situated in Airāvaṭṭa maṇḍala comprising a part of Oḍradeśa.

It may, however, be pointed out that Yamagartta maṇḍala and Khijjiñga maṇḍala were both outside the limits of the Oḍra country during the period. The two *Tālcher Copper plate Grants*[4] of Gayāḍatuñga, the ruler of Yamagartta maṇḍala indicate that this maṇḍala was

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1. See *infra*, also N. K. Sahu, *A History of Orissa*, II. p. 366. Dr. D. C. Sircar is of opinion that Yayāti I Mahāśivagupta, the son of Janamejaya I was responsible for defeating Raṇabhañja (*O. H. R. J.* I. p. 290.)
2. *E. I.* III, p. 351-5
3. *J. B. O. R.* S. XVII, pp. 15 f.
4. *J. A, S. B.* (New series), V, pp. 347—50
   Ibid, XII pp. 291–95.

not a part of Oḍra viṣaya (deśa). The donees of one of the grants were a group of Brāhmaṇas who hailed from Ahichhatra and settled in the village Kuruva-bhaṭa in Oḍra viṣaya where from they came to Yamagartta maṇḍala to receive land grants in the village Toro in Venduñga district of that maṇḍala. The second *Tālcher grant* of Gayāḍatuñga more clearly distinguishes Yamagartta maṇḍala from Oḍra viṣaya. It speaks of two groups of Brāhmaṇa donees one of which originally emigrated from Varendra maṇḍala and settled in Savira-bhaṭa in Oḍra viṣaya, while the other group had come from Srāvasti and settled in Yamagartta-mandala. These two groups of Brāhmaṇas are said to have been donated land by the king in the village named Vamaitalla in Tuñkera district of Yamagartta maṇḍala. Likewise, The *Ādipur grant*[1] of Narendra bhañja, ruler of Khijjiñga maṇḍala, states that the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Devadevadāma who got land grant in that maṇḍala hailed from Oḍra viṣaya (deśa),

The Southern extent of Oḍradeśa can be known from the *Upaladā Copper Plate Grant*[2] of Rāṇaka Rāmadeva of the Tailapa dynasty, which speaks of the peak of Nasunda hill as the crest Jewel of Oḍradeśa. The village Upalavāḍa granted by Rāmadeva (cir 11th century A.D.) may be identified with the modern Upaladā, the find spot of the grant, situated in the Paralakimedi Taluk of Gañjām district. As to the Nasunda hill, S. N. Rajguru speaks as follows.[3]

"The Nasunda Parvata of the verse may be taken to be the hill near Nandava forest in the modern Parlakimedi

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1. *E. I.* XXV, pp. 147 f.
2. *J. A. H. R. S.* X, pp. 166 f.
3. *Ibid.*

estate (ex-Parlakemidi zamindari) very near the boundary between it and Tekali. The Nandava forest is about 3 or 4 miles from Tikalipatna. The Nandava hills are full of natural beauties and connected with Mahendra Parvata by a range of hills called Durgā and Lāvanyagaḍa, so they are rightly called crest jewel of Oḍradeśa."

The *Tirumalai Inscription* (1025 A.D.)[1] mentions Oḍḍaviṣaya, which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence, and depicts the campaign of Rājendra-Chola who conquered this Oḍḍaviṣaya along with the neighbouring territories of Sakkara-koṭṭa (Chakrakoṭṭa) and Kosalaināḍu (South Kosala). The Telugu version of the *Dirghasi Inscription* (1075 A.D.)[2] reveals that Vanapati, a commander of the Gañga king Rājarāja I. defeated the kings of Kimeḍi, Kosala, Oḍra, Utkala, Veñgi and Giḍrisiñgi, while it is known from one *Drākṣārāma Inscription*[3] that Pallavarāju, a general of Kulottuñga (1070-1118 A.D.) burnt the kingdom of Kaliñga, defeated the Khaṇḍapālas of Kosala and planted the pillar of victory on the borders of Oḍra.

In the light of the above discussion, it may be said that Oḍradeśa during the period cir. 700-1100 A.D. was more or less bounded by the river Mahānadī in the North, Toṣalī (Dakṣiṇa Toṣalī) in the East, Kosala (Dakṣiṇa Kosala) in the West, and its extent to the South went in irregular lines as far as the modern Paralakimedi region.

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1. *E. I.* Vol. IX, pp 223 f.
2. *E. I.* Vol. IV, pp. 316 f.
3. *E. I.* Vol. XXII, pp. 138 f.

Origin of the word 'Oḍiśā' (Orissa)

Muslim geographers during 9th to 11th centuries A. D. have mentioned a territory named Urshin or Ursfin which may be identified with Oḍradeśa. Ibn Khurdadhbih, who wrote his Geography in 846 A. D., has mentioned Kudafarid, Kaylkan, al Lava, Kañja, Samundar and Ursfin. The Russian Scholar V. Minorsky identifies Kudafarid with the Godāvarī and Kaylkan with Calingam of the Portuguese. Although the territory named al Lava is difficult to be located the identifications of Kaylkan with Kaliñga, Kñja with Koñgoda and Ursfin with Oḍradeśa appear fairly correct. We are, however, not sure, whether 'Samundar' is to be taken in its literal sense meaning the sea or as the territory bordering the sea. The latter supposition seems to be correct in the light of the *Hudud al Alam*[1] a Persian geography written by the end of the 10th century A. D. This work refers to the territories called N Myas, Harkand, Urshin, Smnder, and Andhras, which were more or less contiguous. N Myas may be the same as Mahiṣa a territory on the Narmadā with Māhiṣmati as the capital.[2] In that case the geographer here refers to the kingdom of the Haihayas who call themselves Māhiṣmatipuravareśwara.[3] A copper plate grant[4] of king Karaka Suvarṇavarṣa dated

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1. *Hudud al Alam* means Regions of the World. It was written towards the close of the 10th century A. D. for the Prince of Guzgan (North-west of modern Afghanistan) whose name was Abul – Harith-Muhmad, ibn Ahmad. The work is translared into Russian by V. Minorsky and is re-translated into English – Oxford University Press. 1937.
2. *Harivaṁśa* I. 14.
3. *E. I.* XII, pp. 269 f.
4. *E. I.* XXII p. 77.

Śaka year 746 (824 A. D.) states that the Māhiṣaka viṣaya[1] contained 42 villages one of which was Brāhmaṇapallika identified with the modern village Bāmroli near Baroda. Panigrahi[2] identifies Māhiṣa with the modern district of Midnapur in West Bengal, but this identification having no authentic basis, is to be regarded untenable. His identifieation of Harkand with Jhārkhaṇḍ is also very doubtful because the word Jhārkhaṇḍ is comparatively a recent one and it cannot be said to be in use before 16th century A. D. Its application as the name of the *Aṭavi* territory as early as the 10th century A. D., sesms improbable. We suggest Ākarakhaṇḍa or the Easten Malwa as the tentative identification of Persian Harkand.[3] The territory called Urshin as pointed out above may be the same as Uḍradeśa, and Smnder may be the territory bordering the sea. The *Haraha Inscription*[4] (554 A. D.) refers to 'Samudra' in the sense of a littoral region of Gauḍa and that region is considered to be the same as the Sumha country. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the Persian geographer also calls Sumha as Samunder. Āndhras is without doubt the same as Āndhradeśa.

The famous Muslim writer Alberuni in his book on '*India*' (cir. 1025 A. D.) has referred to a territory called Urdabishau situated 50 farsakhs (about 200 miles) towards

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1. The *Salotgi pillar Inscription* (*E. I.* III, p 59) mentions Māhiṣa viṣaya which is probably distinct from this Māhiṣaka viṣaya. The *Hebbata grant* (*A. S. I.* 1925 p. 98) of the Kadaṁba king Viṣṇu Varman also mentions Māhiṣa viṣaya, which is without doubt the same territory as referred to by the *Salotgi Inscription*, and also the Ceylonese Chronicle (*Mahāvaṁśa* XII, p. 47)
   According to Rice, Māhiṣamaṇḍala comprised the Southern Mysore and its headquaters was at Maisur (Mysore).
2. *Chronology of the Bhauma Karas*, etc. p. 66
3. The geographer seems to have omitted South Kosala in his account.
4. *E. I.* XIV, pp. 110-20.

the sea in the South, from the Tree of Prayāga[1]. Urdabishau can be no other than Oḍḍa viṣaya mentioned in the *Tirumalai Inscription* (1023 A. D.) of Rājendra Chola, and Al beruni is probably correct when he points out that the territory of 'Jaur' (Chola), meaning Rajendra Chola, started from the end of Urdabishau.

When Choḍagaṅgadeva conquered Utkala and declared himself as 'decorated with the rank of full sovereignty over the empire of Sakala Utkala'[2] Oḍradeśa (or viṣaya) formed without doubt a part of that empire. The *Sakalotkala Sāmrajya* of the *Vizag Copper Plate Charter*[3] (1048 Śaka year) of Choḍagaṅga signifies political unification of Kaliṅga, Utkala and Oḍra under one imperial sceptre with a centralised capital at Yayātinagara, identified with modern Jājpur. It was probably this extensive empire which passed by the name Jājnagar in the Muslim chronicles like *Tabaquat-i-Nasiri*, *Tabaquat-i-Akbari*, *Riyadus-Salatin*, *Tarkh-i-Firujsahi* etc.[4] Very probably the chroniclers named the country, as Jājnagar after its capital 'Yayāti-nagar' even after the transfer of the Gaṅga capital from Abhinava Yayātinagar to Abhinava Vārāṇasī Kaṭaka[5] (modern Cuttack) in 1212-1213 A. D. Blochmann[6] is the first scholar to identify Jājnagar with Orissa and supporting his identification H. C. Raverty writes "Dr. Blochmann's surmises are quite correct with respect to Jajnagar. It appears to have been named after a town or city of that name subsequently changed in more recent times to Jajpur, the meaning of 'nagar' and 'pur' being the same and in the days when our author (of Taba-

1. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, 1914, Vol. I, p. 200.
2. *I. A.* XVIII, pp. 165 f.
3. *Ibid*,
4. Eliot & Dowson Vol. III
5. *E. I.* XXVIII, pp. 235, f.
6. *J. A. S. B.* 1873, pp. 237 f.

quat-i-Nasiri) wrote and many years subsequently it conti nued to be a kingdom of considerable power."[1]

Regarding the boundary of Jājnagar Raverty writes as follows: "Jajnagar, appears, therefore to have been bounded on the east by the range of hills forming the present western boundary of Udisah Jagannath Katasin on the Mahanadi, being the nearest frontier town or post towards the Lakhanor portion of the Lakhanawati territory. Further, it was bounded towards the east by the river called Braminy by some English writers, and Soank running to the west of Gangpur. Its northern boundary is not very clearly indicated but it evidently included Ratanpur and Sambalpur. On the west it does not seem to have extended beyond the Wan Ganga, and its feeder the Kahan, but its southern boundary was the Gudawari, and South west lay Telinganah".[2]

The description of the boundary of Jājnagar by Raverty appears confusing. His identification of Katasin with a town on the Mahānadī (Katasingh on the northern bank of the Mahānadī in the Tributary Mahal of Angul) towards the Lakhanor portion of the Lakhanawati territory is not at all clear and Blochmann[3] also objects to such identification. After examining all available opinions about the location of Jājnagar, P. Acharya concludes as follows: "I fully agree with Blochmann and Raverty and I am of opinion that the position of Jajnagar in the historical map of the Eastern India will include the whole of the modern Province of Orissa and Orissa States (since merged with Orissa) together with the 'southern districts of Western Bengal such as Midnapore, Howrah and Hooghly' and Bankura of Bengal.

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1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* pp. 587 f.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *J. A. S. B.* 1875, pp. 285-86

Singhbhum district of Bihar, Bilaspur and eastern part of Raipur districts of Central Provinces and Godavari and Vizagapatam districts of Madras (now in Andhra Pradesh)".[1]

The territory of Jājnagar is not known from available sources to be as extensive as supposed by Acharya. It very likely denotes to the Gañga empire during the period from Choḍagañgadeva (1112 A.D.) to Anañgabhīmadeva III (1212 Ā.D.), when Yayātinagar was the capital of that empire. But when in 1212 A.D., Anañgabhīmadeva conquered the Sambalpur-Sonepur region[2] and transferred the capital from Yayātinagar to Bārāṇasī Kaṭaka[3] the enlarged empire with a new capital could not be called Jājnagar after the name of the old capital. If the Muslim chroniclers who flourished after 1212 called this territory as Jājnagar they were certainly infleunced by older documents which they consulted to know about this territory. When Shams-i-Seraj-Afif describes[4] Jājnagar-Uḍisā with its capital city Banares on the right bank of the Mahānadī, he, without doubt, refers to the Gañga empire as it stood after Anañgabhīmadeva III. Strangely enough, the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* mentions both Jājnagar and Uḍisā as separate territories.[5]

Sāralādāsa in his *Mahābhārata* refers to Jājanagara as a part of Oḍra rāṣṭra, while he locates Yakṣarapura the abode of his tutelary goddess Sāralā. The poet states, "The Goddess, the dweller of Yakṣarapura resides at the place which lies to the North-east of Mahendra, Chandrabhāgā and

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1. *J. K. H. R. S.*, I, p. 136.
   Bracketed portions are ours.
2. *Chāṭeśvara Inscription J. A. S. B.* (o. s.)
   LXVII, 1898, pp. 322–26,
3. *Nagari C. P. Inscription, E. I.* XXVII. pp. 235 f.
4. Raverty, *Tabaquat-i-Nasiri*–Vol. I. p. 592.
5. *Ibid*, notes.

Konārka, in between Śeta-Bārāhī (Sāta-Bhāiā)[1] and Nīlasundara hill (Purī) on the Eastern shore of Jājanagra Bhuvana in the Oḍṛa-rāṣṭra Maṇḍala in Bhrata (Bhārata) Khaṇḍa which is a part of Jaṁbudvīpa".[2] This clearly indicates that the tradition of a separate territory named Jājnagar as a part of Oḍra rāṣṭra or Orissa was continuing as late as the 15th century A. D., when the poet Sāralādāsa wrote his *Mahābhārata*. The mention of the country of 'Jājnagar-Udisā' by Shams-i-Seraj-Afif towards the end of the 14th century A. D., is quite significant, and as pointed out above, it refers to the unified Orissan empire of the Gaṅgas after Anaṅga Bhīma III with Vārāṇasī Kaṭa'ka-modern Cuttack as the capital.

The word 'Uḍisā' of Afif is quite likely the developed variant of the word 'Ursfin' of Ibn Khurdadhbih (9th century A. D.) and 'Urshin' of the *Hudud-al-Alam* (10th century A. D.). the Chinese form of which is Wu-Cha (Wu-ta) of Yuan Chwang (7th century A. D.), the original being Oḍra or Oḍradeśa in medieval epigraphs and ancient literature. On the other hand, the word 'Oḍra-viṣaya' of the *Soro Copper Plate Inscription* (7th century A. D.) and subsequent medieval epigraphs, expressed as 'Urdabishau' in Alberuni's account (1025 A. D.), and as 'Oḍḍa viṣaya' in *Tirumalāi Inscription* (1025 A. D.) of Rājendra Chola, takes the form of

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1. Sātabhāiā, located on the northern coast of Cuttack district is till today a famous seat of Bārāhī worship. The name of the p'ace is very likely derived from 'Śeta Bārāhī'.

2. जम्बुद्वीप भ्रतखण्ड मण्डल ओड्राष्ट्रे
भुवन जाजनग्र पूर्वादिग महोदधि तटे
शेतवाराही नीलसुन्दरगिरि मध्यस्थाने
महीन्द्र चन्द्रभागा कोणार्क ऐशान्ये
स पुरे बास यच्चर पुर बासेनी ।
Virāta Parva

'Oḍivisā' or 'Uḍivisā' in the traditional records consulted by Lāmā Tārānāth and the author of *Pāg-Sām-Jon-Zāṅg*, falling back on 'Uḍḍiśa' in the Tantric literature of late medieval time. The *Tantrasāra* in its two *Pīṭhatattvanyāsas* refers to God Jagannātha as 'Uḍḍiśa-nātha' while the *Jñānārṇava*[2] declares 'Uḍḍisa' as one of the *Śākta-pīṭhas*.

It is, thus, evident that the word 'Uḍḍiśa' or 'Uḍisā' is already developed by the 15th century A. D., and the poet Sāralādāsa naturally makes 'Uḍisā' or 'Oḍisā' synonymous with Oḍrarāṣṭra.[3] The 'Oḍrarāṣṭra-Oḍisā' of Sāralādāsa is represented as Oḍīsā-rājya, also as Oḍiṣā-rājya in the proclamations[4] of Gajapati Kapileśvaradeva (1435—1467 A. D.) during whose reign the poet flourished.[5] From this time onwards the word 'Oḍisā' denoting to the entire land of the Oriya people, came to be of common use.

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1. *Tantrasāra*, Vaṅgavāsī ed. pp. 419-20; 451-52.
   In these two cases the pūrṇagiri pīṭha is called *Uddisanāthātmaka*
2. Vide, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Śāktapīṭha, *J. R. A. S. B.* XIV. pp. 20-21.
3. जजाति पृथ्वी नवखण्ड कले
   नवखण्ड पृथ्वी नव पुत्रङ्कु वाण्टिदेले ।
   एहार ज्येष्ठपुत्र पुरु महीपति
   ओड़णी भार्य्यार से अटइ सन्तति ।
   महाभारत ओड्राष्ट्र मण्डले
   तेणु से ओड़िसा भ्रतखण्ड सबुकाले
   Ādi Parva
4. आम्भर ओड़ीसा राज्यर लोण कउड़ी मुलकर न्याय छाड़िलि छाड़िलि छाड़िलि
   Inscriptions in the temple of Jagannāth : Left side No. 3
   J.A.S B. LXII, 1893, p. 93
   ए पृथिवी येतेकाल थाइ तेतेकाल ए ओड़ीषा राज्यर राजामानङ्कु तिआरु अछु ..... ।
   Right side No. 4 *Ibid*, p. 100
   The poet refers to the rule of Kapileśvaradeva as follows :—
5. कलिकाल ध्वंसिण भोगेण कोटिपूजा
   प्रणमिते खटन्ति कपिलेश्वर महाराजा ।
   Ādi Parva

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CHAPTER—III

ARCHAIC HISTORY

Kaliñga Before the Mahābhārata War.

The political history of India before the Bhārata war has not yet been properly studied. The Vedic literature and the *Nārasaṁśī Gāthās* of the *Purāṇas* have referred to some kings and royal dynasties who may be attributed to circa 2nd millennium B. C.[1] The Purānic genealogies of the pre-Bhārata period suffer from many lacunae and require careful consideration for reconstructing the political history of the period.[2] It may, however, be said that the Vedic and the Purānic literatures are concerned more with Northern India than with any other region while alluding to the political life of the country during the pre-Bhārata war period. They had, therefore, little to speak about the condition of Kaliñga during that period. That Kaliñga existed as a political entity before the Bhārata war is known from the testimony of the *Purāṇas*[3] and the political account of the territory during that period can be gathered from the *Mahābhārata* itself.

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1. The Vedic literature mentions kings and dynasties like Bṛhadaśva, Dṛḍhāśva, Juvanāśva, Suhotra, Veṇuhotra, Vitihotra, Somaśravas, Sutapā, Divodāsa, Marutta, Somadatta and Devadatta, while kings like Alārka, Jayamegha, Babhru, Bharata, Arjuna Kārtavīrya and Māndhātā and dynasties like Ikṣvākus, Purus, Yadus and Druhyus are mentioned in the *Nārasaṁśī Gāthās* of the *Purāṇas*.
2. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.* pp. 144-49.
3. *Ibid.* p. 110. Also see the Chart at p. 148 as regards Akrodhana.

To all probability Kaliñga was not Aryanised during the pre-Bhārata war period. The people of Kaliñga are branded as *Durdharmans*[1] by the *Mahābhārata* and their territory was outside the pale of the Aryan civilisation even as late as the time of which the *Dharmasūtra* writers speak. But the *Mahābhārata* informs us that the royal families of Kaliñga had contracted matrimonial relations with the Āryan-royal families of Northern India long before the Bhārata war. The *Ādi Parva* records the marriage of the Kaliñga princess Karaṁbhā with the proud Paurava king Akrodhana[2], where as, we know from the same source that Taṁsu, the grand father of Duṣyanta (father of the famous Puru king Bharata) married a princess from the Kaliñga royal family.[3]

The *Śānti Parva*[4] gives a vivid account of the *Svayaṁvara* ceremony of the Kaliñga princess, the daughter of king Chitrāñgada, that was held in the capital city called Rājapura. Large number of famous kings of Northern, Southern and Western India are known to have attended the ceremony. Kings like Śiśupāla, Jarāsandha, Bhīṣmaka, Kapotaromā, Nīla, Aśoka, Satadhanvā and Bhoja assembled there to court the princess, while the Kuru king Duryodhana also attended the ceremony along with Karṇa. The Kaliñga

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1. *Karna Parva*, 2066,
2. अयुतनायो खलु पृथुश्रवसो दुहितरमुपयेमे
   कामानाम तस्यामस्य यज्ञे अक्रोधनः ।
   स खलु कालीङ्गीं कारम्भां नामोपयेमे
   तस्यामस्य यज्ञे देवातिथि ।
   Ādi Parva, 3775.
3. तंसुं सरस्वती पुत्रं मतिनारादजीजनत् ।
   ईलिनं जनयामास कालिङ्गयां तंसुरात्मजं ॥
   Ādi Parva, 3780.
4. Canto IV.

princess appeared in the arena with her female attendants and by-passed Duryodhana with indifference. Thereupon, the proud Kaurava king being mortified, forcibly caught hold of the bride and placed her on his chariot. The assembled kings took serious offence at the audacious conduct of Duryodhana and were determined not to let him off without a fight. But Karṇa came to rescue of the Kaurava prince and by his skill in archery held the kings at bay. Duryodhana, thus, safely escaped with the princess of Kaliñga to his capital.

It may further be pointed out that the *Svayaṁvara* ceremony of Draupadī, the princess of Pañchāla, was attended by the king of Kaliñga in the company of Duryodhana.[1] This king was very likely the successor of Chitrāñgada and may be identified with Śrutāyus or Śrutāyūdha, the famous hero of the Mahābhārata war.

The king of Kaliñga is known to have been vanquished on different occasions by the great heroes of the *Mahābhārata.* He was defeated by Karṇa[2], by Rāmayāmadagnya[3] and also by the combined power of Sahadeva and Kṛṣṇa who crushed the Kāliñgas at Dantakura[4]. Sahadeva, in course of his *Digviajya* defeated the king of Kaliñga[5] and the latter is known to have brought tributes to Yudhiṣṭhira.[6] We further know that he attended the *Rājasūya* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, along with the kings of Puṇḍra, Vañga, Ākarṣa,

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1. *Ādi Parva*, 7020 and also *Uddyoga Parva*, 3403.
2. *Vana Parva*, 15243,
3. *Droṇa Parva*, 2436.
4. अथं कर्णाटे निजघान पाण्ड्यं ।
   ततः कलिङ्गान् दन्तकुरे ममर्द ॥
   (*Udyoga Parva*, xlvii 70)
5. *Sabhā Parva*, 1175.
6. *Sabhā Parva*, 1874.

Kuntala and Vanavāsi.[1] It may be suggested here that the Kaliñga king who attended the *Rājasūya* sacrifice after being defeated by Sahadeva is very likely Śrutāyūdha, who has been referred to in the *Sabhā Prava*[2] as being present in the palace of Yudhiṣṭhira.

The king of Kaliñga was evidently antagonistic towards the Pāṇḍavas and was friendly to the Kauravas owing to his close relations with the latter. Whereas, the king of the Oḍras is said to have been an ally of the Pāṇḍavas. In the famous Kurukṣetra war the Kaliñga king with his mighty army consisting of 60,000 war chariots and 10,000 elephants joined with Duryodhana.[3] It appears that he was eager to take revenge against the Pāṇḍavas who had treated him in an ignominious manner during the *Rājasūya* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. The Oḍra king on the other hand sided with the Pāṇḍavas with all his resources.[4] In the war, king Śrutāyūdha and his sons Śakradeva, Ketumān and Bhānumān who acted under him as commanders of different regiments, faught under Generalissimo Bhīṣma in the van of the Kaurava forces.[5] In the third day of Bhīsma's command a terrible fight took place between Bhīma, assisted by the Chedis and the Kaliñgas led by Śrutāyūdha. The Pulindas and Savaras of Kaliñga led by prince Ketumān distinguished themselves in the battle and out-witted Bhīmasena. King Śrutāyūdha displayed his indomitable courage and heroism in his fight against Bhīma, who however, succeeded in slaying the protectors of the wheels of Śrutāyūdha's war-chariot and put the Kaliñga king in a procarious

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1. *Sabha Parva*, 1270.
2. *Sabhā Parva*, iv, 121.
3. *Bhīṣma Parva*, xvi, 623.
4. *Ibid*, xxx, 2084.
5. *Ibid*, xvii, 6621; iii, 2203

position. Subsequently, Śrutāyūdha was killed together with his three war-like sons, after wrecking terrible carnage in the armies of the Pāñḍavas.[1]

After the death of Śrutāyūdha and his sons the Kaliñga army found no other leaders of the royal blood, as the royal dynasty of Kaliñga was completely annihilated in the battle. The army for sometimes followed Bhagadatta the king of Kāmarūpa,[2] and by the time Droṇa organised the *Garuḍavyūha* it was found to have formed the neck of the array.[3]

If any historical credence be placed on the accounts of the *Mahābhārata*, it may be said that Kaliñga was a mighty power commanding great political prestige during the period preceding the Bhārata war. Famous kings of Northern India were anxious to have matrimonial relations with the royal family of Kaliñga and her army was highly reputed for its skill and valour. But the power of Kaliñga was completely crushed and her royal dynasty wiped off along with many other dynasties of India, in the Krukṣetra war.

The Date of the Bhārata War

The Bhārata war is a great land mark in the history of India and the determination of its date is very essential for the study of ancient chronology. The tradition recorded in the *Mahābhārata* itself, reveals that the battle between the Kuru and the Pāṇḍava armies was faught at *Syamantapañchaka* when it was the junction of the *Kali* and the *Dvāpara* ages.[4]

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1. For the account of fight of Śrutāyadha and his sons with Bhīma, see *Ibid*, liv.
2. *Bhīṣma Parva*, xxcvii, 3854,
3. *Droṇa Parva*. xx, 798 and 802.
4. अन्तरे चैव संप्राप्ते कलिद्वापरयोरभूत् ।
   स्यमन्त पञ्चके युद्धं कुरुपाण्डव सेनयोः ॥
   Adi Prva, ii, 13.

According to this tradition the *Kaliyuga* started about the time of the Bhārata war. On the basis of the *Sūrya Siddānta*[1] and the *Ardharātrika*[2] system of Āryabhaṭa, the beginning of the *Kaliyuga* has been determined as the midnight at Ujjainī terminating the 17th February of 3102 B. C. But Āryabhaṭa who wrote his *Sūryasiddhānta* about 499 A. D., 3600 years after the beginning of the alleged *Kali Yuga era*, propounded for the first time the existence of such an era and this reckoning was unknown in India before him. So no reliance can be placed on this calculation which is generally regarded as an 'astronomical fiction.'[3]

Varāhamihira, who flourished about the middle of the 6th century A. D., states in his '*Vṛhatsaṁhitā*' that 2526 years before the era of the Śaka king, corresponding to 2449 B. C., Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling the earth.[4] It may be pointed out that Varāhamihira's calculation was based on that of Bṛddha Garga whose time is not yet properly known. This school of reckoning, however, differs considerably from that of the school of Āryabhaṭa. The speculation of Varāhamihira as to the presence of the Seven Ṛṣis (Great Bear) in the *Maghās* when king Yudhiṣṭhira was reigning remains as yet an astronomical riddle and his 'Śakakāla' is also open to controversy.

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1. Burgess' translation of the *Surya Sidhānta*, Calcutta University, Reprint, p. 19.
2. Explained in the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Bramhagupta; see its translation by P. C. Sengupta, p. 9, and also Introduction.
3. The influence of Āryabhaṭa was so great that in Śaka 556 (expired i. e. A. D. 634-35) Ravikīrti the panegyrist of Pulakeśin II, dated his Aihole record in the Kali yuga era propounded by Āryabhaṭa. For *Aihole Inscription* see, *E. I.* VI, pp. 11-12.
4. आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथिवीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ।
षड्-द्वीक-पञ्च-द्वियुतः शककाल स्तस्य राज्ञश्च ॥
Bṛhat Saṁ., xiii, 3.

P. C. Sengupta strongly supports the view represented by the school of Varāhamihira with the astronomical data gleaned by him from the *Mahābhārata* itself.[1] A. S. Altekar and M. N. Shah have rightly refuted the astronomical data found in the epic as later interpolation or exaggeration.[2] F. E. Pargiter aptly remarks that 'the astronomical statements, obviously cannot have scientific precision and can only have been formed by estimate at the close'.[3]

A very interesting allusion to the date of the Bhārata war is found in the following verse of the *Purāṇas*.[4]

महापद्माभिषेकात्तु
यावद्जन्मपरीक्षितः ।
एवं वर्ष सहस्रंतु
ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरं ॥
पुलोमास्तु तथान्ध्रास्तु
महापद्मान्तरे पुनः ।
अन्तरं तच्छतान्यष्टौ
षट्त्रिंशत्तु समास्तथ ॥

According to this statement 1050 years intervened in between the birth of Parīkṣita and the consecration of Mahāpadmananda, and 836 years between Mahāpadma and

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1. Sengupta, *Ancient Indian Chronology*, Chapter I.
2. For Altekar see Appendix A of the Presidential address of I. H. Congress, 3rd session, 1939; and for M. N. Shah see *Science & Culture* March 1939, pp. 482-488
   Mr. Sengupta, however, attempts to meet the caiticism of Dr. Shah. *Science & Culture*, July, pp. 26-29
3. *A. I. H. T.* p. 180 note. 3.
4. Pargiter, *D. K. A.* p. 58.
   In some Mss. of *Matsya* & *Viṣṇu* the variant reading is पञ्चशतोत्तरं while Bhaviṣya P. states, पञ्चदशोत्तरं. Majority of the scribes, however, accept the expression पञ्चाशदुत्तरं

Pulomāvi, the last Āndhra king. The aecession of Mahāpadmananda which offers a pivotal date for this reckoning may be ascertained as 362 B. C. on the basis of chronology determined from the data furnished by the *Purāṇas*[1] Thus the birth of Parīkṣita which almost synchronised with the Bhārata war took place in 1412 B. C. according to the above Purānic calculation. But the other part of this calculation which places Pulomāvi, the last Āndhra king 83 years after Mahāpadma is historically incorrect as Pulomāvi cannot be assigned to 474 A. D. (362 B. C. - 836 years) when the Vākāṭakas and other dynasties were powerful in the territory which constituted the early Sātavāhana (so called Āndhra) empire. On the basis of this Ray Chaudhuri rejects the Purānic tradition about the date of Mahābhārata war.[2]

A. S. Altekar, who earlier[3] supported the Purānic tradition regarding the date of the Bhārata war, later on changed his view[4] and questioned the accuracy of the Purānic data. The *Purāṇas* give the list of Kaliyuga kings during the pre-Śaiśunāga period but do not care to give the reign periods of those kings. It appears that the authors of the *Purāṇas* had no clear knowledge about the duration of the period that intervened the Bhārata war and the end of the

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1. 322 B. C the date of the accession of Chandragupta Maurya + 12 years for the eight successors of Mahāpadma. Some purāṇas like Matsya and Brahmāṇḍa assign 100 years for the Nandas taking 88 years for the first Nanda king, but as suggested by Dr. Ray Chaudhuri 'the year 88 (*Aṣṭāsiti*) is probably a mistake for 28 (*Aṣṭaviṁśati*) as per the Vāyu assigns only 28 years'. For the date of Mahāpadmananda, see *infra*, Chapter IV.
2. *P. H. A. I.* 5th ed. pp. 30-31.
3. His Presidential address in the Archaic and Early Cultural History Section of the Indian History Congress 3rd Section. Calcutta, 1939.
4. His Presidential address of I. H. C. 22nd Session, Gauhati, 1959.

Śaiśunāga dynasty. The period of 1050 years, therefore, may not be considered to have represented a correct tradition, more so because, as pointed out earlier, the period of 836 years intervening the ascendancy of Mahāpadma and the last Āndhra king is historically inaccurate. Thus, the custodians of the Purānic tradition are not dependable for correct computation of the date of the Bhārata war.

For arriving at a more positive ground regarding the date of the Bhārata war, it is worth while to examine the list of teachers furnished in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[1] and the Vṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,[2] and ascertain their chronological position. The succession of teachers as known from these lists is presented below :

Turakāvaṣeya
Jajñavachas Rājastaṁbhāyna
Kuśri Vājasravas
Upavesi
Aruṇa
Uddālaka Āruṇi

From this list it becomes clear that Uddālaka Āruṇi the contemporary of the great Janaka of Mithilā flourished in the 6th generation from Turakāvaṣeya, the priest of Janamejaya. In the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka[3] we find another list of three generations of teachers from Uddālaka Āruṇi onwards which is as follows :

Uddālaka Āruṇi
Kahola Kauṣitakī
Guṇākṣa Śāṅkhāyana[4]

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1. Vide Vaṁśa list at the end of book x of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
2. *Vṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.* Ch. vi. See also Appendix 'B' of Presi. add. of Dr. Altekar in the Archaic & Cultural Hit. Sec, op. cit.
3. Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, Ch. xv.
4. *S.B.E.* xxix p. 4.

The teacher Guṇākṣa Śāṅkhāyana, who was the author of the Āraṇyaka text was thus flourishing in the 3rd generation from Turakāvaṣeya.

It may be noted that Kahola, the preceptor of Guṇākṣa Śāṅkhāyana was also the teacher of Aśvalāyana, the author of the *Aśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*[1], who as known from the *Majjhima Nikāya*[2], was a contemporary of Buddha. This is carroborated by the *Praśna Upaniṣad*[3] where Aśvalāyana is represented as a contemporary of Kabandhi Kātyāyana (or Kakuda Kācchāyana) one of the opponents of Gotama Buddha. Thus, Guṇākṣa Śāṅkhāyana, the pupil of Kahola must also be regarded as a contemporary of Gotama Buddha and his time may tentatively be fixed at 550 B. C. Guṇākṣa, as shown above, flourished in the 8th generation from Turakāvaṣeya and as both Buddhist[4] and Jain traditions[5] take the average length of a patriarchate about 30 years, H. C. Ray Chaudhuri[6] reasonably thinks that the same may also be estimated in case of the Brāhmanical dignitaries. According to this consideration, therefore, Janamejaya the contemporary of Turakāvaṣeya flourished about 790 B. C. (550 B. C. + 240 years).

It may be pointed out that Janamejaya ruled for a considerably long period, as he is known to have conquered many territories to be a '*Sārvabhauma*'[7] and to have

1. *Aśavlāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, iii, 4, 4.
2. *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii, pp. 147 f.
3. In both *Majjhima Nikāya* and *Praśna Upaniṣad* Aśvalayana has been mentioned as an inhabitant of Kosala. See in this connection Dr. Ray Chaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.* pp. 33-34. For identification of Kavandhi with Kakuda, see *I. H. Q.* 1932 pp. 603 f.
4. Rhys Davids,-*Buddhist Suttas*. Intro. p. xlvii
5. Jacobi, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (2nd ed) xviii
6. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri, op. cit. p. 52.
7. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* viii, 11-21,

performed two horse-sacrifices[1] and was also consecrated with '*Punarabhiṣeka*' and '*Aindramahābhiṣeka*'[2] a fact which undoubtedly indicates his long rule. Assuming the above known date to be his 50th regnal year, which is very likely, it may be said that he ascended the throne in cir. 840 B. C. His father Parīkṣita, as known from the *Mahābhārata*, died at the age of 60 after a rule of 24 years[3] and as the birth of Parīkṣita almost synchronised with the Bhārata war, its date may be ascribed to circa 900 B. C.[4] (840 BC+60 yrs.)

The archaeological excavations at Hastināpura[5] in 1950-52 have revealed a culture represented by a ceramic industry named as 'Painted Grey Ware' covering a period from cir. 1100 B.C. to cir. 800 B.C.. This culture has probably been rightly attributed to the Indo Aryans as this was found at several other sites in Northern India associated with the Mahābhārata story, e. g. Mathurā, Ahichhatra, Kurukṣetra, etc. The excavations further reveal that a considerable portion of the settlement at Hastināpura was inundated by the flood of the Ganges leading to the abandonment of the site, sometimes after 800 B. C.. The *Mahābhārata* also speaks of the high flood of the Ganges that completely submerged Hastināpura three generations after Janamejaya, the son of

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1. Kieth, *Ṛigveda Brāhmaṇas*, p. 336 and Eggeling, *Śat. Bra.* v. p. 396.
2. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri, op. cit. p. 38.
3. *Mbh. Ādi Parva*, il, 17 26.
4. *A. I. H. T.* pp. 179 f.
   F. E. Pargiter by working on a logical hypothesis has come to conclusion that the date of the Bhārata war may be fixed approximately at 950 B. C., The result of this hypothesis almost corroborates what has been discussed above by us. The difference of about half a century occurs owing to the fact that Pargiter fixes 402 B. C. as the date of accession of Mahāpadmananda, where as, according to our reckoning, Mahāpadma came to the throne in cir. 362 B. C.
5. *Ancient India*, nos, 10 & 11, 1954-55, pp. 5 f.

Parīkṣita. According to the *Purāṇas*,[1] Janamejaya was succeeded by Śatānika, the latter by his son Aśvamedhadatta, who was followed by Adhisiṁhakṛṣṇa. During the time of Nichākṣu, the son and successor of Adhisiṁhakṛṣṇa, the city of Hastināpura was submerged by the Ganges, and the Kuru capital was transferred to Kauśāṁbī. It was probably this disaster which finds mention in the *Chhandogya Upaniṣad*[2] where, however, the devastation of the Kuru land has been attributed to *Maṭachi* (which may mean either locusts or hailstorms). It appears that the three rulers who came after Janamejaya had short rule and during the time of Nichākṣu Hastināpura was deserted. It is evident that the Bhārata war was fought more than a century before the final destruction of the Kuru kingdom, and the date fixed at cir. 900 B. C. is thus substantiated both by literary evidences and archaeological finds.

Kaliṅga from the Mahābhārata war to Mahāpadmananda.

The Purānic accounts referred to above regarding the dates of the Mahābhārata war indicates a division of Ancient India into two well marked periods i. e., the first period from the birth of Parīkṣita to the coronation of Mahāpadmananda, and the second period from Mahāpadmananda to Pulomā (Pulomāvi) the last Andhra king. As pointed out above, the second period presents historical inaccuracy and our knowledge about the history of the post-Mahāpadmananda period being rich and full, it would not be in the fitness of things to treat this period as one of the divisions in the history of Ancient India, as well as, of Orissa. We may however, accept the first division, our knowledge of that period being obscure and scanty. The present discussion is thus devoted to unravelling the history of ancient Kaliṅga

1. Pargiter, *D. K. A.* p. 5.
2. *Chhand, Up.* i. 10, 1.

during the period from the Mahābhārata war which synchronised with the birth of Parīkṣita to the accession of Mahāpadmananda.

The Vedic and the early Brāhmanical works seldom refer to Kaliñga and her people, and hence, those are of little help to us in our discussion of the early history of Kaliñga. The *Vāyu, Matsya* and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*[1] speak of various ruling dynasties of India during the period following the Mahābhārata war. The most important dynasties of the period were the Bārhadrathas, Ikṣvākus, Pañchālas, Kāśīs, Haihayas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, Surasenas, Vitihotras, etc. Contemporaneous with these dynasties thirtytwo Kṣatriya kings ruled over Kailñga during the period under review.[2] But nothing about the activities of these kings is known from the *Purāṇas* which do not even care to mention their names.

Unlike the Brāhmanical works the Buddhist and the Jaina literature throw considerable li ht on the early history of Kaliñga. The *Mahāgovinda sūttānta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* has preseved a vivid picture of the political condition of India of very early times when seven states enjoyed considerable power in the country. Those states are-Kaliñga, Assaka, Avantī, Sovīra, Videha, Añga and Kāsī with their capitals at Dantapura, Potana, Māhissati, Roruka, Mithilā, Champā and Vārāṇasī respectvely. [3]

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1. Pargiter, *D. K. A.* pp. 23 and 69.
2. *Ibid.*
3. दन्तपुरं कलिङ्गानं अस्सकानं च पोतनं ।
माहिस्सति अवन्तीनं सोवीरानं च रोरुकं ॥
मिथिला च विदेहानं चंपा अङ्गेसु मापिता ।
वाराणसी च कासीनं एते गोविन्द मापिता ॥

Dīgha Nikāya (P.T.S.), ii, p. 235
Dialogue of the Buddha, I, p. 270

We know from the same source that king Satṭabhu was ruling over Kaliñga contemporaneous with Brahmadatta, king of Assaka, Vessabhu of Avantī, Bharata of Sovīra, Reṇu of Videha, Dhataraṭṭha of Añga and Dhataraṭṭha, king of Kāsī.[1] Most of these rulers have, however, remained as obscure figures in ancient Indian history, but king Dhataraṭṭha of Kāsi comes to light being referred to in the Brāhmanical works. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[2] reveals that Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Dhataraṭṭha) of Kāśī while performing the horse sacrifice was defeated by Satānika Śātrājita[3] who carried away the sacrificial horse by force. Śatānika of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* may be identified with the Bhārata king Śatānika who according to the *Purāṇas*[4] was the grandson of Parīkṣita and the son and successor of Janamejaya. Hence, it becomes evident that king Sattabhu of Kaliñga was a contemporary not only of Dhṛtarāṣṭra of Kāśī but also of Śatānika, the Kuru king. It has been shown in the foregoing discussion that Janamejaya, the son of Parīkṣita was flourishing during the later half of the 9th century B. C. His son Śatānika may, therefore be assigned to the first quarter of the 8th century B. C., and thus, his contemporary king Sattabhu of Kaliñga may be placed in the same period. The Purānic traditions bear testimony to the fact that a neo-Kṣatriya dynasty came to power in Kaliñga during the post-Bhārata war period as the earlier dynasty was completely annihilated when Śrutāyu perished with his three sons in that war. The founder of this neo-Kṣatriya dynasty is, however, not definitely known, and it may be suggested that he was the predecessor of king

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Śat. Br.* xiii, 5, 4, 22. This is also known from *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, see *Vedic Index*, I, p. 403, II, p. 352.
3. If the epithet Śātrājita is patronymic, Janamejaya may be regarded as Śatrājita.
4. Pargiter, *D. K. A.*, p. 5.

Sattabhu of *Dīgha Nikāya.* The Buddhist work indicates that soon after the devastating Kurukṣetra war, Kaliñga regained her prestige and power under the rule of Sattabhu and became notable among the contemporary Indian States.

The next ruler of Kaliñga, so far known to us, is Nālikīra who finds mention in the old *Gāthā* portion of the *Jātakas*[1] and has also been referred to in the *Upālisūtta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya.*[2] The episode regarding Nālikīra was widely prevalent in India during the time of Buddha and probably long before that, which indicates that the king belonged to a very early date. The traditions recorded in tne *Jātakas* state that once a holy ascetic came with five hundred followers to Dantapura, the capital of Kaliñga, and encamped in the royal park. When king Nālikīra visited the ascetic the latter asked him as to whether he was ruling righteously or not. The king took the query with bitter feelings and in order to chastise the ascetics invited them all to his palace where he filled their bowls with filth, had them beaten and set dogs against them. The consequence of this ill-treatment towards innocent ascetics proved fatal to himself and his kingdom. He died an inglorious death and was consigned to the hell known as the *Sunakha niraya,* while his country, Kaliñga, was desolated and reduced to wilderness (Kaliñgaraññña). This episode under

1. यथा अहु दण्डकी नालिकीरो ।
अथ अज्जुनो कलाबु चापि राजा ॥
तेसं गतिं ब्रुहि सुपापकम्मणं ।
कत्थ-उपपन्ना इसिनं विहेठका ॥

J, V. p. 143,
(*Gāthā* 68)

2. *Majjh. N.* i. p. 378.
also *Majjh. Com.* (Aluvihāra series) Vol. II. pp. 602 f.

its religious garb, seems to have contained some untraceable facts leading to the fall of Kaliñga. The territory which flourished under Sattabhu suddenly perished during the rule of Nālikīra and this apparently indicates the fall of the Kṣatriya dynasty which came to power over Kaliñga after the Bhārata war. It is possible to suggest that the destruction of the Kuru kingdom, as well as, of Kaliñga was not far apart in time.

By the time the Kurus transferred their seat of Government to Kauśāmbī, the Janaka family was ruling over Videha which was then a prominent kingdom in Northern India. The *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* give glorious accounts of Videha and speak of other contemporary states like Gāndhāra, Kekaya, Madra, Uṣīnara, Matsya, Kuru (Kauśāmbī branch) Pañchāla, Kāśī and Kosala. Although these authorities are concerned more with the North Indian States, they do not fail to refer to the South Indian kingdoms and kings. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[1] for instance, refers to king Bhīma of Vidarbha in South India, in association with king Nagnajit of Gāndhāra in North-western India, while the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[2] gives account of a sage known as Vidarbhī Kauṇḍiṇya. It may be pointed out that the above *Upaniṣad* without mentioning the proper name of the sage calls him after the kingdom of Vidarbha and its capital Kuṇḍina. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[3] further refers to some kings of South India called Bhojas - an ancient ruling family known also from the edicts of Aśoka and the *Hāthigumphā inscription* of Khāravela. Although Kaliñga is seldom referred to in the Brāhmanical and Upaniṣadic literature, its existence as a political power

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1. *Ait. Br.* vii, 34.
2. *Vedic Index*, II. p. 297
3. *Ait. Br.* viii, 14.

along with Assaka and Vidarbha during the Age of the Janaka family of Videha is known from copious references in Jaina and Buddhistic works. The most important king of Kaliñga during this period was Karakaṇḍu (or Karaṇḍu) who flourished contemporaneous with Nimi the penultimate ruler of the Janaka family of Videha.[1] The Jaina *Karakaṇḍu Chariu*[2] reveals that Karakaṇḍu was the son of king Dadhivāhana of Chaṁpā, who, however, should not be confounded with the Añga king Dahivāhana whose daughter Chandanā or Chandanavālā was the first lady converted to Jainism by Mahāvīra.[3] We identify Dadhivāhana, the father of Karakaṇḍu with his name sake described in the *Dadhivāhana Jātaka*,[4] where he has been represented as occupying the throne of Benares. It may be pointed out that Añga was a vassal state of Kāśī since the time of Manoja[5], the powerful Kāśī monarch and hence, Dadhivāhana who came after Manoja, has been confounded by later Jaina writers as the king of Añga.[6] It may, however, be said in support of the Jaina tradition that the episode regarding the birth of Karakaṇḍu and his installation on the throne of Kaliñga took place at the time when his father Dadhivāhana was probably a Governor of Añga with the headquarters at

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1. This Nimi is identified with Nimi of *Makhadeva Jātaka* (*J.* VI) and of *Nimi jātaka* (*J.* I), according to which he was born to round off the royal family of Videha like the hoop of a chariot wheel and was succeeded by Kalāra Janaka who brought the line to an end.
2. *Karakaṇḍu Chariu*, Koraña series; also vide *Abhidhāna Rājendra* III, 'Karaṇḍu'.
3. *J. A. S. B.* 1914, pp. 320-21; also *I. C.* II, pp. 682 f.
4. *J.* II, pp. 101 f.
5. For conquests of king Manoja see *Sonananda Jātaka* (*J.* V. pp. 315 f).
6. Dadhivāhana has been represented as the son and successor of king Añga in the *Purāṇas*, *Matsya* xli, 91-108 *Vāyu* xc, 100-11[illegible] as well as in the *Harivaṁśa* xxxii, 43.

Champā. The Jaina tradition[1] reveals that the queen of Dadhivāhana, who was heavy with child, was once enjoying elephant drive in the forest when she lost her way and ultimately arrived at Kaliñga. There she gave birth to a son who grew up in obscurity and was named Karakaṇḍu. While the king of Kaliñga died without an heir the boy Karakaṇḍu was miraculously chosen as king and with his accession to the throne, the prevailing anarchy in Kaliñga came to an end.

The *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*[2] and the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*[3] reveal that Karakaṇḍu flourished in Kaliñga as contemporary of Dummukha (Durmukha or Dvimukha) king of Pañchāla, Naggaji (Nagnajit) king of Gāndhāra, as well as, Nimi, king of Videha. Further light on this synchronism is thrown by the later Vedic literature where Somaka, the son of Sahadeva, is represented in association with both Bhīma, the king of Vidarbha and Nagnajit, the king of Gāndhāra[4], while Bṛhaduktha[5], the son of Vāmadeva, a contemporary of Somaka[6] is described as the priest of Durmukha the Pañchāla king. Thus, the combined evidences of the Buddhist, Jaina and Vedic texts testify to the

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1. See *Karakaṇḍu Chariu*, also *Abhidhāna Rājendra*, op. cit.
2. *J.* III pp. 376 f.
3. *S. B. E.* XLV, p. 87 Lecture xviii, 45-47,
4. *Ait. Br.* vii 34.
5. For Bṛhaduktha as priest of Durmukha, *Ait Br.* viii, 23, *Vedic Index* I p 370.
6. Vāmādeva as contemporary of Somaka, see *Rgveda* IV, 15, 7, 10. In this connection the following may be cited from *Aitareya Brāhaman*, vii, 34

एतमु हैव प्रोचतुः पर्वत-नारदौ सोमकाय साहदेव्याय सहदेवाय सारञ्जयाय सञ्जये दैवावृधाय भीमाय वैदर्भाय नग्नजिते गान्धाराय।

contemporaneity of the following kings—Nimi of Videha, Karakaṇḍu (or Karaṇḍu) of Kaliñga, Nagnajit of Gāndhāra, Bhīma of Vidarbha, Durmukha of North Pañchāla and Somaka of South Pañchāla.[1] It may be pointed out that, out of this group of kings Nimi and Karakaṇḍu find no mention in the Vedic literature although both of them are conspicuously featured in the Buddhist and Jaina texts.

The *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*[2] declares Karakaṇḍu, Nimi, Dummukha and Naggati as "bulls among kings" and states that they adopted the faith of the Jinas and after abdicating thrones took to the life of *Sramaṇas*. This account indicates that Jainism was in a flourishing condition in India when these four 'bulls of kings' were ruling. The popularity of Jainism in its '*Chaturyāma*' form was widely prevailing in Northern and Eastern India since the time of Pārśvanāth, whom Jaina traditions regard as the 23rd Tīrthañakara and historians consider as the first historical founder of Jainism.[3] Pārśva is said to have attained *Mokṣa* 250 years before Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, the date of which is unfortunately not above dispute. According to tradition *Viranirvāṇa* took place 470 years before the Vikrama era i. e. in 527 B. C. But the traditional date of *Vīranirvāṇa* like that of *Buddha-nirvāṇa*, is open to doubt. The Medieval Jaina scholar Hemachandra states that a period of 410 years intervened the decease of Mahāvīra and the Vikrama era,

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1. According to the *Purāṇas* Somaka, the son of Sahadeva, was king of North Pañchāla (Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.* p. 148) So Durmukha who is called a Pañchāla king, may be taken to be ruling over South Pañchāla.
2. *S. B. E. Ibid.*
3. *I. A.* II. pp. 261. f. *Ibid*, IX, p. 162. *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee*, Vol. III, pt. 3, pp. 74 f.

and as this is corroborated by various other Jaina accounts[1] we take 467 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* and as such, 717 B.C. as that of Pārśva's *Mokṣa*.[2] The four bulls of kings mentioned above flourished long before the compilation of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* in which at least one of them finds prominent mention. It is, therefore, not unlikely that they were the followers of *Chaturyāma Dharma* propounded by Pārśvanāth and were his spiritual disciples. The Jaina *Kṣetra Samāsa* represents Pārśvanāth as preaching at Tamralipta and Kopakaṭaka identified respectively with modern Tāmluk in West Bengal and Kopāri in Orissa.[3] Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanāth is prominently represented in the early figure sculptures of Khaṇḍagiri where the famous cave Ananta gumphā is known from its Serpent symbol to have been dedicated to his honour. The influence of Pārśvanāth on the spiritual life of ancient Kaliṅga was very considerable and there can be no reasonable doubt in the fact that Karakaṇḍu, the earliest known Jaina king of Kaliṅga was one of his royal disciples.

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1. The *Jaina Charitra* of the *Kalpasūtra* mentions that its compilation was completed 993 years after *Vīranirvāṇa* when it was publicly recited before king Dhruvasena I of Valabhi, probably at the time of his coronation. Dhruvasena ascended the throne in 526 A. D. and hence, Mahāvīra's decease may be ascribed to 467 B. C. (993-526).
   A strong Jaina tradition reveals that Bhadrabāhu the preceptor of Chandragupta Maurya and the tenth Jaina pontiff died 170 years after Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*. The death of Bhadrabāhu is known to have taken place after the abdication of Chandragupta Maurya and as Chandragupta abdicated in 299-98 B. C. the death of the Jaina pontiff may be ascribed to 297 B. C. and that of Mahāvīra to 467 B.C. (297 + 170).
2. Famous Jaina scholars like Jacobi and Charpentier have accepted 467 B. C. as the date of *Vīranirvāṇa*.
3. N. N. Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhañj* p. xliii.

Karakaṇḍu patronised Jainism, not only in his own kingdom, but also in neighbouring territories where his royal friends were ruling. He dedicated shrines to the Jinas at Terapura in Mahārāṣṭra[1] which was then probably under the rule of king Bhīma referred to in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The Karaṇḍaka monastery[2] was very likely named after him and the stone elephant which stood in the monastery was the fore-runner of the Aśokan elephant at Toṣālī (Dhaulī). Owing to his munificence, religious contemplation and wisdom, Karakaṇḍu is hailed by the Jaina tradition as a '*Rājarṣi*'—an ascetic king. His abdication of the throne for leading the life of a *Sramaṇa*, was an important event in ancient India and it is preserved in the Jaina and Buddhist texts in different manners—the former[3] placing emphasis on his deep realisation of the transitory nature of the worldly property and the latter[4] giving exposition to his reflection upon the worldly prosperity as the cause of sorrow.

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1. *A. B. R. I.* XVI. pt. i, ii. See *Karakaṇḍu* Chariu (Kor.nja series) Introduction, pp. 42-54.
2. *J.* IV, p. 95.
3. The Jaina tradition presents an interesting story about the conversion of Karakaṇḍu. It is said that the king was fond of a young white bull which was healthy and well-bred. Being engrossed in his duties he failed to look after its welfare for sometime and subsequently found it old and reduced to skeletons. This was a great shock to him and thinking that the world's prosperity and happiness were of a transitory nature, he accepted the path of the Jinas. (*Abhidhāna Rājendra*, III, p. 359.)
4. The *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* narrates that once the king and his retinue ate mangoes from a fruit laden tree in the royal park and the tree was stripped bare of its fruits. The king thereafter compared the fate of the fruit laden tree with that of the barren ones which were spared such ravages owing to their barrenness. Reflecting upon the fact that worldly prosperity was the cause of all sorrows and unhappiness king Karaṇḍu (Karakaṇḍu) became a Paccheka-Buddha and went to the Nanda-mūla-pabhāra with three others Naggaji Nimi and Dummukha. (*J.* III p. 376 f.)

The post Karakaṇḍu period is marked by the fall of the Janaka family in the North and the rise of a new imperial power named Daṇḍaka in the South of India. The Daṇḍaka empire[1] was about 60 *yojanas* in extent embracing the territory from the Narmadā valley to the river Kṛṣṇā. Its capital according to the *Jātakas* was at Kuṁbhavaṭī, which has been named as Madhumanta in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2] and as Govardhana (or Nāsik) in the *Mahāvastu.*[3] The *Sarabhañga Jātaka*[4] gives an account of its ruler Daṇḍakī, and refers to his three subordinate kings who are called Kāliṅga, Aṭṭhaka and Bhīmaratha. Neither the monarch Daṇḍakī, nor the Daṇḍaka empire finds mention in the Brāhmanical and Upaniṣadic literature and it may be suggested that the empire flourished after the period of the kings like Nagnajit of Gāndhāra and Bhīma of Vidarbha mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.* According to this consideration, king Bhīmaratha of the *Sarabhañga Jātaka* is posterior to king Bhīma of the Brāhmanical text and king Kāliṅga of the same *Jātaka* is later than king Karakaṇḍu, the contemporary of Bhīma. The *Purāṇas*[5] speak of two early kings of Vidarbha who were known as Kṛtabhīma and Bhīmaratha. Kṛtabhīma of the *Purāṇas* may be identified with Bhīma of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and Bhīmaratha of the same tradition may be regarded as the same as Bhīmaratha of the *Sarabhañga Jātaka.* As to king Kāliṅga, we get some light from the *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka*[6] which presents the accounts of three generations of kings—Kāliṅga I, Mahākāliṅga and Kāliṅga II, ruling successively over Kaliṅga. Kāliṅga II, is represented in this Jātaka as a

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1. *J.* V. pp. 127 f.
2. *Rām.* VII, 79, 18.
3. *Mahāvastu* (Senart), p. 363.
4. *J.* V. Ibid.
5. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 146, 148.
6. *J.* IV, pp. 228 f.

powerful and independent monarch while Kāliñga I has not been given such prominence. We may, therefore, identify Kāliñga I with king Kāliñga of the *Sarabhañga Jātaka* where he has been described as an *Antaraṭhādhipati* (vassal king).

But the identification of king Aṭṭhaka (Sānskrit-Aṣṭaka) presents considerable difficulty. A king named Aṭṭhaka, the son of Vassamitta, is found in the *Mahānārada Kassapa Jātaka*[1] the account of which is corroborated by the *Aaitareya Brāhmaṇa*[2], as well as the Purānic tradition[3] where Aṣṭaka the son of Viśvāmitra has been represented as the king of Kānyakubja. If, however, we identify Aṭṭhaka (Aṣṭaka) of *Māhānārada Kassapa Jātaka* with his name sake in the *Sarabhañga Jātaka*, Daṇḍakī, his over-lord, must be placed at much earlier a date and the Daṇḍaka empire be regarded to have extended as far as Kanauj in the North. But, both these possibilities cannot be reconciled with our knowledge of history relating to Daṇḍakī and his empire. R. L. Mehta[4] is of opinion that Aṭṭhak in the *Sarabhañga Jātaka* is a corrupted form of Assaka while Barua[5] is inclined to restore Aṭṭhaka as Ṛṣṭaka, a territory in South India. The problem may, however, be solved if Aṭṭhaka (Aṣṭaka) be taken to be the king of Assaka[6] (Aśmaka) situated

1. *J.* VI pp. 251 f.
2. *Ait. Br.* vii, 17
3. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.* pp. 142-43, 266-67.
4. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 58.
5. Barua, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, p. 85.
6. The king of Assaka is often represented in the *Jātakas* by the name 'Assaka'. In the *gāthā* portion of the *Nimi Jātaka* (J. VI p. 99. G. 420-21) the kings named Aṭṭhaka and Assaka are mentioned side by side in association with the ancient kings like Duḍipa (Dilipa) Sagara (Sagara) Sela (Salya), Muchalinda, (Muchukunda) Bhagirasa (Bhagiratha), Usinara (Uśinara) and Puthujjana (Pṛthu Vainya). Aṭṭhaka of the *Nimi Jātaka* my be identical with his namesake in the *Mahānārada Kassapa Jātaka*. But Aṭṭhaka of the *Sarabhañga Jātaka* belongs to a later period, and we have tentatively taken him as a king of the Assaka country.

in the South as a neighbouring kingdom of Kaliñga and Vidarbha. In that case Aṭṭhaka would be regarded as the predecessor of king Aruṇa who was ruling over Assaka contemporaneous with king Kāliñga II of Kaliñga.

It is evident from the above discusssion that the Daṇḍaka empire comprised the feudatory kingdoms like Kaliñga, Assaka, and Vidarbha and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya reveals that the Daṇḍaka emperors belonged to the Bhoja family.[1] The empire, however could not last long and collapsed during the rule of Daṇḍakī about the middle of the 7th century B. C. The cause of the fall of Daṇḍakī is wrapped with a socio-religious mystery, unanimously attested by the *Mahābhārata*,[2] *Rāmāyaṇa*,[3] *Arthaśāstra*[4] of Kautilya and the Jaina *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa charita*[5] of Hemachandra. These authorities state that Daṇḍakī made lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa girl and as a result of the sin perished along with his relations and the empire. The *Sarabhañga Jātaka*, however, presents a different story according to which Daṇḍakī ill-treated a holy sage named Kisavaccha whose curse led to the destruction of his land by a shower of fine sands. These stories, as rightly remarked by Mehta[6] "cannot be viewed in any other light except as later day inventions of moralists and sectarian propagandists, who, to suit their own purposes, explained away a fact of natural phenomena as resulting from a human sin."[7]

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1. *A. S.*, 1. 6.
2. *Anuśāsana Parva*, cliii 11. *Sabhā Parva*, xxx, 16-17.
3. *Rām*, vii, 81, 7-19.
4. *A. S.*, *Ibid.*
5. *Tsp ch.* (G. O. S.) li, pp. 44-45.
6. *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 59.
7. This remark is equally applicable to cases of the decline of kings like Nālikira, Ajjuna (Arjuna Kārtavīrya), Kalābu, Kalāra-Janaka and others who are represented by the *Jātakas* and other traditional accounts, to have perished as a result of immoral activities.

The *Jātaka* makes us believe that after the fall of Daṇḍakī, the vassal kings—Kāliñga, Aṭṭhaka and Bhīmaratha came to the hermitage of Sarabhañga, which was located on the bank of the Godāvarī, where they discussed about the ill-fated emperor, and subsequently being inspired by the teachings of the sage, all of them renounced the world and turned ascetics.

It is further known from the *Jātakas* that with the fall of the Daṇḍaka empire, Kaliñga, Assaka, and Vidarbha became independent and the kings who occupied the thrones of these territories made earnest attempt to consolidate their respective strength. In Kaliñga, after the abdication of Kāliñga I, his elder son Mahākāliñga ascended the throne and ruled the kingdom as a benevolent and judicious monarch.[1] His younger brother Chullakāliñga was very arrogant and created much trouble in the kingdom as a consequence of which Mahākāliñga ordered for his arrest. To avoid humiliation Chullakāliñga escaped from Kaliñga and lived in the guise of an ascetic in the Himālayan forest (Himavā). There he had a romantic association with the princess of Madra whom he married and begot a child.[2]

A few years after that, Mahākāliñga of Kaliñga died issueless. The son of Chullakāliñga who was then sufficiently grown up came to Dantapura, the capital of Kaliñga, to claim his ancestral throne. When the people and the

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1. *J.* IV, pp. 228 f.
2. The *Jātaka* states that according to prediction of the socth-sayer the Madda (Madra) princess was to give birth to a son who would be a Chakkavattī and so many powerful kings of Jambudvīpa sought her hands. Her parents, in order to avoid enmity with these kings left the capital city Sāgala and lived in a cottage in Himavā where the princess came in contact with Chullakāliñga.

courtiers recognised the identity of the prince, they warmly welcomed him as their king. After ascending the throne he was known as Kāliñga II. In the Buddhist literature he has been described as a Chakkavattī monarch and his royal chaplain Kāliñga Bhāradvāja is said to have taught him the duties of a Chakkavattī.[1]

In the *Chullakāliṅga Jātaka*[2] we come across a war-like and ambitious king of Kaliñga named Kāliñga, who cannot be identified with Kāliñga I, the vassal of Daṇḍakī, but with great amount of certainty be taken to be the same as Kāliñga II of the *Kāliñgabodhi Jātaka*. Both the *Jātakas* highly speak of his militant nature and royal dignity and depict him as a chivalrous and over-bearing monarch.

It is further known from the *Chullakāliñga Jātaka* that Kāliñga II who was conscious of his invincible power promised that he would give his four beautiful daughters in marriage to the king who could be able to vanquish him in battle. It is said that he sent the princesses in a well-decorated chariot with military escorts to visit different kingdoms as a challenge of war. To the South-west of Kaliñga lay the kingdom of Assaka which was equally powerful and militant under king Aruṇa, whose crafty minister Nandisena was jealous and intolerant of the glory of Kaliñga. The princesses crossed the border of the neighbouring state of Assaka and reached its capital Potana, thus offering a *casus belli* for the war between Assaka and Kaliñga. King Aruṇa was, however, not willing for an immediate contest, but the minister Nandisena, who was looking for an opportunity of such a war, instigated the king to arrest the princesses. This being done, there

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1. *J.* IV, p. 232.
2. *J.* III, pp. 3 f.

started the war between Assaka and Kaliñga which was fought mostly due to the chauvinistic spirit of king Kāliñga of Kaliñga and the minister Nandisena of Assaka.

The Kaliñga army, which was very powerful, fought with great valour, but in the long run Nandisena was able to turn the defeat into a victory by his dexterity. Consequently king Kāliñga was forced to give in marriage his four daughters to Aruṇa with rich dowry.[1] This war took place about the end of the 7th century B. C. and the defeat of Kaliñga proved a set back on her waxing power and glory.[2]

The 6th century B. C. is remarkable in the history of India for far-reaching political and cultural developments. It witnessed the appearance of several new States and of vigorous intellectual movement leading to the growth of new political ideology and religious culture in India. The *Añguttara Nikāya*[3] gives account of sixteen States *(Solasa mahājanapada)* flourishing during the time of Buddha, which were, Kāsī, Kosala, Añga, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, Chetiya, Vaṁsa, Kuru, Pañchāla, Maccha, Surasena, Assaka, Avantī, Gāndhāra and Kaṁboja. But the name of Kaliñga is not

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1. *J.* III, pp. 3-8.
2. Dr. B. M. Barua is inclined to identify Kāliñga II with Khāravela and connect the account of the *Hāthīguṁphā inscription* regarding the invasion of Asikanagara with the Assaka-Kaliñga war described in the *Cullakāliñga Jātaka*. (Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions* pp. 213-15). The suggestions of Dr. Barua appear far fetched and the *Hāthīguṁphā inscription* in no way indicates the defeat of Khāravela at Asika.
3. *Añgu*, N. (P. T. S.) I. p. 213 IV. pp. 252. 256. An account of the 16 States is also furnished by the Jaina *Bhagabatī Sūtra* a considerably late work in which some deviation is found in the enumeration of these States. (Saga XV, Uddessa I) See Ray Chaudhuri. *P. H. A. I.* (5th Ed.) pp. 95-96.

given place in the list although her neighbour Assaka finds mention in it. This probably indicates the political decline of Kaliñga during this period. It may, however, be said that the list of States in the *Añguttara Nikāya* need not be considered as exhaustive, and in fact, the account of Kaliñga as a flourishing State in the 6th century B. C., can be gathered from other literary sources. The *Mahāprinibbāṇa Sūtta*[1] enlists Kaliñga among many other States of India, which obtained the relics of Buddha for worship. The *Dāṭhāvaṁśa*[2] in corroboration of this account presents an interesting tale of the Tooth relic of Buddha that was brought from the funeral pyre at Kusināra by Kṣema Thera to the court of king Brahmadatta of Kaliñga. It may be pointed out that the account of the popularity of Buddhism in Kaliñga depicted in the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sūtta* might be a later interpolation as pointed out by the commentator and other modern scholars;[3] the account of the *Dāṭhāvaṁśa* may also be regarded as 'more wonderful than accurate;[4] but the existence of the State of Kaliñga at the time of Buddha's *Mahāparinibbāṇa* as suggested in these works cannot be ruled out. The Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṁśa* while giving the account of Vijaya's advent to Ceylone, an event that took place in the year of Buddha's death, refers to his grand mother Susimā, who was the daughter of the king of Kaliñga.[5]

Although the *Añguttara Nikāya* ignores Kaliñga, she finds a place among the early kingdoms of India enumerated

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1. *Dīgha Nikāya* ii, p. 167.
2. B. C. Law, *Dāṭhīvaṁśa* (Punjab Sanskrit Series).
3. Dr. N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyīna Buddhism* etc. p. 14, and *Early Monastic Buddhism* I, p. 4.
4. B. C. Law, op. cit. Introduction.
5. Geiger, *Mahīvaṁśa*, vi. p. 1, See also Oldenburg, *Dīpavaṁśa*, p. ix, 2 f.

in the *Mahābhārata*. The *Karṇa Parva*[1] states that the Kauravas, along with the Pañchālas, the Śālvas, the Matsyas, the Naimiṣas, the Kosalas, the Kāśīs, the Añgas, the Kaliñgas, the Māgadhas and the Chedis are well acquainted with the law eternal. This account of the epic refers to the pre-Mahāpadmananda period as some of the States mentioned here, particularly those of the Kurus, Naimiṣas, Śālvas and Kāśīs ceased to continue after Mahāpadma. These States may well be assigned to the Mahājanapada period in cir. 6th century B. C.

Our knowledge about the history of Kaliñga in the 6th century B. C. is extremely meagre as we seldom get anything more than a passing reference to this country in the literary sources referred to above. Our source for the 5th century B.C. is still more unpromising and no other work except the *Dāṭhāvaṁśa* seems to have contained any account of Kaliñga during that century. The historical value of *Dāṭhāvaṁśa* connot, however, be set aside as like *Mahāvaṁśa* and *Dīpavaṁśa* it claims to have based its accounts on the ancient *Mahaṭṭhakathā*. As pointed out above, this work reveals that king Brahmadatta was ruling over Kaliñga at the time when Buddha attained *Parinirvāṇa* (about 487 B.C.)[2], he was succeeded by Kāśīrāja and the latter by Sunanda. The chronicle abruptly brings the line

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1. कुरवः सह पञ्चालाः शाल्वा मत्स्याः सनैमिषाः ।
कोसलाः काश्यङ्गाश्च कालिङ्गा मागधास्तथा ॥
चेदयश्च महाभागा धर्मं जानन्ति शाश्वतं ।

Karṇa Parva, xlv, 14-16

2. The Ceylonese tradition which regards the year of *Parinirvāṇa* to be 454 BC. was due to a reform of the calendar of Ceylone in the 15th century A. D. According to the cantonese dotted record the date should be 486-87 B. C.

of succession to a stop after Sunanda and revives it with Guhaśiva who came as late as the 4th century A.D. If the three kings Brahmadatta, Kāśīrāja and Sunanda be taken to be historical they must be assigned to the period immediately preceding the invasion of Kaliñga by Mahāpadmananda. According to the *Purāṇas* thirty two Kṣatriya kings ruled over Kaliñga from the time of Mahābhārata war to that of Mahāpadmananda, and the last of this series was defeated and killed by the Nanda king. King Sunanda of the *Dāṭhāvaṁśa* may presumably be taken to be the last ruler of Kaliñga, who was violently extirpated by the *Sarvakṣatrāntaka* Nandarāja. More than this cannot, however, be said with the present state of our knowledge.

State and Society before Mahāpadmananda.

The present discussion covers a long period from cir. 900 B.C. to cir. 350 B.C. and it is in fact a formidable task to depict a general picture of the state and society of Kaliñga during this period. So far as political condition was concerned, Kaliñga was a monarchical State throughout the period and the ideal of monarchy was based on a paternal conception. The king was regarded as a leader and protector of the society and his virtues and vices were believed to be responsible for the prosperity and decline respectively of the State. Kaliñga was devasted by the unrighteous conduct of king Nālikīra and prospered due to the righteous activities of king Karakaṇḍu. It was this belief which regulated popular opinion about the activities of the king who had thus little scope to disregard popular feelings and become a despot.

The *Kāliñgabodhi Jātaka*[1] reveals that king Mahākāliñga had to order for arrest of his brother Chulakāliñga

1. J. IV. p. 228.



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who created much trouble among the people of the State. A typical example regarding the limitation of the prerogatives of the king is furnished by the *Telapatta Jātaka* in which the wife of the king is said to have urged upon him to hand over to her absolute authority over all the subjects, to which the king replies[1]—"Gentle lady, I have no power over all inhabitants of the State, nor am I their master; I have only jurisdiction over those who revolt against the ruler and indulge in harmful activities. It is because of this that I cannot give you the authority over the whole kingdom". The high ideal of kingship was, however, not bereft of pomp and luxury. We hear of gorgeous courts with ministers, nobles and Brāhmins and dancing girls resounding the chambers with loud music[2]. The king maintained big harem[3] and had hunting and dice playing as his pastimes. The royal parks and groves were his favourite resorts and we sometime hear of the king seated in the park with singing girls[4] or eating mangoes with his retinue in the grove[5]. But the worldly enjoyment was also considered to be the source of suffering and kings like Karakaṇḍu and Kāliṅga I renounced the world out of spiritual consideration.

The king was helped by the Minister (Amaccha) the Purohita and sometimes by the Chief queen (Aggamahesī) in the work of administration. The Minister had an important share in formulating and executing the policy of Govern-

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1. भद्दे मय्हं सकलरट्ठवासिनो न किञ्चि होन्ति, नाहं एतेसं सामिको, ये पन राजानं कोपेत्वा अकत्तब्बं करोन्ति तेस मेवाहं सामिको ति इमिन कारणेन न सक्का तुय्हं सकलरट्ठे इस्सरियं च अज्ज दातुं ।
(*J.* I. p. 398)
2. *J.* I. p. 470.
3. Sixteen thousand was a conventional number of co-wives in the harem (*J.* IV. p. 320 G. 107-8)
4. *J.* I, p. 384; II, pp. 247, 250; III, p. 40; IV. p. 348.
5. See *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* (*J.* III, p. 376).

ment and there were occasions when the king inspite of his unwillingness had to submit to the decision of the Minister. Nandisena, the Minister of king Aruṇa wanted war with Kaliñga and prevailed upon his master to arrest princesses of Kaliñga who had entered Assaka as a challenge of war. King Aruṇa had to arrest the Kaliñga princesses although he was eager to avoid a clash with Kaliñga[1]. There were, no doubt, more than one Minister, but the real power seems to have been vested upon the chief. The *Jātakas* do not clearly define the functions of the ministers and the existence of a Mantriparisad (Parisā) is only a matter of reasonable supposition.

The Purohita was the advisor of the king in matters spiritual and temporal, and he was his close companion both in private and public life. The *Kāliñgabodhi Jātaka*[2] states that Kāliñga Bhāradvāja, the Purohita of king Kāliñga II, was a learned scholar and he taught the king with great care the duties of a Chakkavattī. When once riding through the air the royal elephant though prodded to death failed to fly over the Bodhi tree and Kāliñga Bhāradvāja was asked to find out the cause and report the matter to the king. The royal Chaplain after investigating the case explained that a Buddha[3] had attained enlightenment under that tree and on his advice, the king paid great honour to the tree for seven days.

The Purohita had an important role in the administration of justice. The king was to pronounce judgment according to the Holy lore, the proper study of which was the duty of the Purohita.[4] No doubt, the kingdom had a

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1. *J.* III, pp. 3 f.
2. *J.* IV, pp. 228 f.
3. He should not be confounded with Gotama Buddha. The *Jātaka* here refers to the previous birth of Gotama Buddha identifying king Kāliñga with Ānanda in the previous birth, and Kāliñga Bhāradvāja with the Bodhisatta.
4. *J.* II. p. 243; IV pp. 245–46.

number of judicial officers but the king was the highest judicial authority and serious sentences like death and mutilation could only be given by the king himself.

The Chief queen was not associated with the harem of the king and she commanded great respect and influence in the realm. The *Mañchapurī cave Inscription*[1] at Udayagiri indicates that the Chief queen (Aggamahesī) continued to enjoy the status of influence even in the 1st century B. C. when Khāravela was ruling over Kaliñga.

The other important officer was the Commander-in-chief (Senāpati) who organised the army consisting of the Infantry, Cavalry, Elephant, Chariot, and probably a Navy. The king was himself wellversed in military science and personally led the army to the battle. Sometimes the tutelary deities were believed to have appeared in the battle field as in the case of the Assaka-Kaliñga war[2] where the Black Bull and the White Bull the deities of Assaka and Kaliñga respectively took part on either side. Victory in the battle depended more on skill and courage of the Commander-in-chief than on the vastness and strength of the army.[3]

The administrative divisions of the State are not properly known and probably units like Janapada and Gāma existed during the period under review. The Janapada was a bigger division than the Gāma (village) and consisted of clusters of villages. The later Vedic literature and the Buddhist *Jātakas* throw interesting light on the village administration of the period, from which it is known that the village, although the lowest unit of the realm, was almost a self-governing institution. The Headman of the village is

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1. *E. I.* XIII, p. 159.
2. *J.* III, pp. 3 f.
3. *Ibid.*

called Grāmaṇī in the Vedic literature and Gāmabhojaka in the *Jātakas* and he was discharging the executive, judicial and police functions of the village. Although a servant of the king he was answerable to the village-council to which he would often address "Do as has been done by you on previous occasions".[1] Except in cases of emergency or serious criminal matters the king seldom disturbed the even tenor of the village life. The only regular interference of the central Government was the collection of land revenue from the villagers who used to pay probably one sixth of the produce which was conventional in ancient India.

The economic condition during the period was of normal standard and majority of the people were dependent upon agriculture while many of them were carrying on trade and commerce and pursuing arts and crafts. The ownership of land was not vested in the king and the peasant was considered to be the proprietor of the land cultivated by him.[2] The primitive method of cultivating the fragmentary land by a pair of bullocks and a plough was the usual practice[3] and although there were innumerable perennial rivers, canal irrigation was unknown during the period. The first experiment of irrigation by canal was made in Kaliñga when Mahāpadmananda ruled over the territory in the 4th century B. C.[4] and before that the facility of water supply was limited to tanks, wells and natural springs, which was not adequate for the purpose of cultivation. If the rain failed famine was almost inevitable and among the States known to the *Jātaks*, Kaliñga was the only unfortunate land where rainfall

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1. तुंहकं पुब्बेकरणं नियमेन एव करोथ।
   J. V. p. 115
2. In later period the king was declared to be the master of all lands. See *Manu*, viii, 39.
3. *J.* I. p. 502; II, pp. 59, 165, 300; V. p. 68.
4. See *infra*, Ch. IV.

was uncertain and famine was considered a national danger. The *Vessantara*[1] and the *Kurudhamma*[2] *Jātakas* narrate the pitiable condition of the people of Kaliñga during the time of drougat when hungry crowds wailed at the gates of the king's palace and ministers and Brāhmins looked for some miraculous power for producing rain. Other kingdoms were, however, ready to help Kaliñga in times of such calamity. When rainfall was heavy and regular, rice grew in abundance and crops like sugarcane, barly, millet, and pulses, as well as, oil seeds were produced in plenty.

Trade and commerce were in flourishing condition and evidences of both over-land and sea-borne trade are found in Buddhist and Jaina texts. The *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*[3] reveals that Tapussa and Bhallika, two merchants of Ukkala (Utkala), came travelling on the road and pasaed through the place where the Blessed One was enjoying the bliss of Enlightenment. The *Jātaka*[4] confirming the same episode further states that the two merchants of Ukkala were proceeding on trade to Majjhima desa (Mid-India) with five hundred cart-loads of merchandise. Later traditions make Tapussa and Bhallika the inhabitants of either Uttarāpatha[5] or Burma[6], but the references in early Buddhist works like the

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1. *J.* VI. p. 487.
2. *J.* II, p. 367
3. *S. B. E.* XIII, pp. 81-84
4. *J.* I. p. 80.
5. *Lalitavistara* (Ed. by Lefmann) III pp. 303, 310,
   Mahāvastu (Ed. by Senart) III p. 303
   Watters, I. pp. 111-112.
6. For Burmese legend on Tapussa (or Tapassu and Bhallik (or Bhalluka) v.de Lt. Col. A.P. Phyre *"On the History of Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon"*. *J.A.S.B.* 1859, pp. 473-76.
   Ibid. (n.s.), 1910, Vol. VI, pp. 602-3.

Vinaya piṭaka and *Jātaka* clearly indicate that they belonged to Ukkala or Utkala.[1]

The *Chulla Kāliñga Jātaka*[2] indicates that Dantapura the capital of Kaliñga was linked with many other kingdoms by well paved roads. It narrates that the four princesses of Kaliñga travelled in a well decorated chariot through neighbouring kingdoms and subsequently came to the capital city of Assaka. There was a good road connecting Dantapura with Potana (or Potanagara) the capital of Assaka, and caravan traffic used to pass through it in most part of the year. Dantapura was also connected with Chaṁpā, the capital of Aṅga[3] and commercial inter-course between these two cities was going on both by inland and overseas routes. The *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[4] states that Pihuṇḍa a port of Kaliñga was a famous emporium during the days of Mahāvīra and merchants from Chaṁpā were coming there by sea for purpose of trade. It narrates the episode of a Jaina merchant named Pālita who came from Chaṁpā by boat to Pihuṇḍa where he married the daughter of another merchant and settled for a period. By the time he returned home, his wife was carrying child and she gave birth to a son in the midst of the sea, for which, the boy was named Samudrapāla.

Overseas trade was briskly going on between Chaṁpā and Suvaṇṇabhūmi[5] (Lower Burma) while the former place was also connected by over land routes with Mithilā[6] and

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1. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 22.
2. *J.* III p. 3.
3. Vide *Karakaṇḍu Chariu.*
4. *Utt dya Sūtra*, ii p. 61.
5. *Mahājanaka Jātaka*, *J.* IV. p. 34.
6. *Ibid*, p. 32

Bārāṇasī[1]. Tāmalitti (Tāmralipti) was another important port on the Eastern coast of India but it does not find any prominent mention in the Jātaka stories. The Ceylonese chronicles[2] indicate that Tamalitti had regular contact with Ceylone by overseas route about the 3rd century B.C. Commercial enterprises between Tāṁbapaṇṇī (Ceylon) and the ports of India, during the period under review, have been depicted in several *Jātakas* and there can be no reasonable doubt that maritime relations then existed between Kaliṅga and the island of Tāṁbapaṇṇī. The sea route to Tāṁbapaṇṇī was rough and perilous and we hear of ship-wrecks off the shore of the island where sirens were found bewitching ship-wrecked traders.[3]

Thus although the sources are meagre there are definite evidences of brisk trade through land and sea routes and commerce developed chiefly due to good communications and transport facilities. It is, however, difficult to have a clear idea about the nature of import and export and trade was probably based mainly on exchange of commodities. The important item of export was cotton cloth both coarse and fine, for which Kaliṅga was famous, while rice, hemp, cocoanuts, areca nuts, and molasses were also exported in considerable quantity. Silken robes, woolen rugs, perfumes and drugs were probably imported from outside. There appears to have developed some indigenous crafts mostly out of forest products and mention may be made of basket making, mat-weaving, making of palm-leaf fans and sunshades, preparation of lac juice (lākkhārasa) and probably also vermillion. Carpentry and wood carving were a

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1. *Samudda Vaṇija Jātaka. J.* IV. p. 159.
2. *Mahāvaṁśa*, Ch. xix.
   Ibid, translated by L.C. Wijisinha, p. 76.
3. *Valāhassa Jātaka, J.* II. pp. 127 f

flourishing industry and besides furniture and other ordinary articles, the carpenters were busy in manufacturing carts and chariots, as well as, boats and ships. Royal chariots were decorated with fine carvings and inlaid with ivory.

Musical instruments like flute, drum and cymbals had good market and physicians and fortune tellers carried on profitable business. The *Jātakas* also refer to hawkers roving in the streets to sell articles of ordinary use. The *Serivaṇija Jātaka*[1] speaks of two such dealers in pots and pans, who were inhabitants of the kingdom of Seri and who came across the river Telavāha to the city of Andapura where they set about hawking the wares round the streets.

Most of the small industries were run as family profession and hired labourers were employed in case of big industries. Slavery was a recognised institution and not only kings and ministers but also ordinary persons had slaves, both male and female, as household adjunct.[2]

Kaliñga was progressively Aryanised during the period and class distinction among Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sudras sharply developed in the social structure. Brāhmaṇa villages began to raise their heads in different parts of the territory and the *Vessantara Jātaka*[3] speaks of an important Brāhmaṇa gāma named Duṇṇiviṭṭha in the Kaliñga raṭṭha. The Brāhmaṇas occupied a respectable position in the society and their help was sought for averting personal, as well as, national calamities. The *Kurudhamma Jātaka*[4] states that when a great drought occured in

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1. *J.* I. p. 111.
2. *J.* I. pp. 200, 225, 350.
3. *J.* VI. p. 514.
4. *J.* II. pp. 367 f. See also *Dhammapadāttha Kathā*, p. [illegible] story is found in the *Vessantara Jātaka* (*J.* VI. p. 487).

Dantapura, the king of Kaliñga sent the Brāhmaṇas to the king of Kuru to beg the loan of his State elephant Añjana Vāsabha credited with the power of producing rain. The *Jātakas* give several examples where Brāhmaṇas perform sacrifice to avert impending personal evil.[1] They were reading dreams, fore-telling fortunes, worshipping demons and performing esoteric practices. The *Jātakas* do not always approve such professions which they declare as practice of fraud and deception.[2] The period of which the *Jātakas* speak was the time of decline for Brāhmaṇas and of rise to prominence for Kṣatriyas. Political power and material prosperity rested with the Kṣatriyas while the Brāhmaṇas were distinguished by spiritual practices which were sometimes rediculed as superstitious. The Vaiśyas who formed the bulk of the population consisted of the cultivators, traders and artisans, and it was with this mass of people that the assimilation of Āryan blood and culture rapidly took place giving rise to new castes and classes in the society. The Sudras probably constituted the hill tribes and other people reduced to servitude, while a degraded class called Chaṇḍāla developed and was despised as untouchable. One *Jātaka*

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1. *Mahāsupina Jātaka*, J. I. pp. 343 f.
   See also *J.* III. pp. 45 ff.
2. *Ibid.* Also *J.* I. p, 272; *J.* IV, pp. 79,230, 335; *J.* V. p. 211.

   Fick remarks "To see in such things, as fortune-telling, interpretations of dreams etc., only lying and decepton, shows that these stories are a product of their age and their land. Originating in the circles of the common people in whose religious thought superstition occupied a large place, they retain traces of their origin not-withstanding the complete rejection and depreciation of superstitious ideas".
   (*The Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's time* pp. 229–30).

declares—"the lowest born among men that trod upon the earth by two legs are the Chaṇḍālas."[1]

Looking at the society as a whole, we find a healthy development of family life with remarkable filial love and affection.[2] There was joint family system dominated by patriarchal principle and as polygamy was not unusual, the position of the wife was subservient to that of the Master of the household. Child marriage was unknown in the society and normally the marriageable age of a girl was taken to be of sixteen years.[3] The system of purdha was prevalent to a limited extent[4] and the custom of Suttee did not exist at all. Widowhood was considered to be a terrible ordeal[5] but instances of widow marriage were not rare.[6] The general outlook of the society was that a wife is meant for progeny only and that a barren wife is of no use at all.[7]

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1. जाति नगरं अधमा जनिन्द
चण्डाल योनी दिपद कनिट्ठ ।
(*J.* IV. p. 397, G. 39)

2. The *Vessantara Jātaka* presents a striking picture of filial love.

3. सोलसिक वत्थुद्वेसिकभावं
J. I. p. 456
सोलसवस्सकाले अभिरूपा पासादिका सब्बलक्खण संपन्ना..... ।
J, III, p. 93
See also *Dhammapadātthakathā*, II, p. 217.

4. Probably only royal maidens and ladies of noble families were going veiled. See. *J.* V. p. 439,
J. VI. pp. 15, 21, 31, 33, 167, 328, 498.

5. *J.* VI. p. 508, G. 2869-76.

6. *J.* I P. 225; *J.* VI. p. 159.

7. We have several instances of women praying and offering gifts to Gods longing for sons and daughters. See. *J.* VI, p. 150, *G.* 694-97.

The *Jātakas* loudly speak of the profligacy of women[1] and present unbeseeming picture of their moral depravity.[2] But instances of chaste wives and happy conjugal love are by no means rare.[3]

Both men and women cultivated fine arts like music, dance and painting and gifted artists were usually receiving royal patronage. *Viṇā* (stringed instrument), *Veṇu* (flute), *Bherś* (wind instrument), *Śaṁkha* (conch), *Muraja* (drum) and *Sammatāla* (cymbals) were the popular musical instruments and both singing and dancing were usually being accompanied and tuned by the instrumental music.

Education mostly in Elementary stage was well looked after and villages and towns maintained *Pāṭhasālās* (schools) for inculcation of reading, writing and arithmetic. Boys and girls attended such schools with slates (*phalakaṁ*) and the children of rich people were sometimes accompanied by slaves who carried their slates and stylus. A slave named Kaṭāhaka who used to accompany his master's son to the *Pāṭhasālā* himself came to learn writing.[4]

Higher education was being imparted at some selected places and cities like Takṣasilā and Bārāṇasī developed as famous centres of learning. We, however, do not find any reference to such university centres in Kaliñga and

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1. इत्थियो असाता नम
(Profligacy is the name of women) *J.* I. p. 288, *G.* 60.
थिनं भावो दुराजानो
मच्छस्सेवोदके गतन
(Impossible is to know the ways of women, they are as unsteady as the course of fish in water), *J.* V. p. 94, G. 295.
2. *J.* I. pp. 286-88; *J.* II. pp. 115-18 etc.
3. *J. II.* pp. 121-25. *J.* V. pp. 88-98.
4. *J.* I. p. 451.

aspirant scholars of this kingdom might be going as far as the University of Takṣaśilā to study under its world renowned teachers.[1] There were a few sylvan retreats of famous sages like that of Sarabhaṅga on the Godāvarī[2] which were imparting religious and philosophical teachings. On the whole, institutions for the spread of education were existing at several places of the kingdom although it is now difficult to assess how far these were promoting the learning of the people by that time.

The *Jātakas* reveal a trend of religious idealism which may be termed as 'asceticism' and it probably began as a reaction against Brāhmanical ritualism. The period under discussion was marked by a gradual awakening of the questioning spirit of man and this spirit was reflected to a great extent in the court of the Great Janaka of Mithilā. Philosophers like Yājñavalkya, Uddālaka Āruṇi and Śvetaketu, gave new interpretation to the ideals of life and developed a system of thought distinct from the conservative ideas of the priestly class. This gave rise to a new school of heterodoxy in the post Janaka period when we notice a sort of conflict between ideal and actual practice in the thoughtful individual. It was the time when a band of sophists or parivrājakas wandered about various kingdoms giving rise to a speculative ferment in India and they were commonly known as the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas in ancient literature. The Śramaṇa-Brāhmaṇa period was succeeded by the period of Mahāvīra and Buddha when India could attain a solidarity in thought and religion.

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1. There are innumerable refernces to the University of Takṣasilā in the *Jātakas*. See Dines Andsrsen, *Index to the Jātaka* pp. 61-62.
2. *J.* V. pp. 135 f.

The Parivrājakas who preceded Buddha propounded various doctrines and had large number of followers. The *Mahābodhi jātaka*[1] refers to five schools of such doctrines viz., *Ahetuvāda*, which denied the existence of cause; *Īssarakāraṇavāda* which ascribed the cause of every thing to a Supreme Being; *Pubbekatavāda* which attributed joys and sorrows of life to previous actions; *Ucchedavāda*, which upheld the view of complete annihilation with death, and *Khattavijjavāda* which maintained the principle of self seeking at any cost and means. Both Mahāvīra and Buddha had to face the protagonists of all these doctrines whom they strongly refuted. In Kaliñga different Parivrājaka doctrines had strong foot-hold and Jainism and later on Buddhism had to clash with these ideas, some of which continue even today in the society. The *Nikāyas*[2] reveal that the Vassa and the Bhañña tribes of Ukkala (Utkala) professed the doctrines of *Ahetuvāda*, *Akiriyāvāda* and *Natthikavāda* and denied cause action and existence. These doctrines are generally attributed to Purāṇa Kassapa, one of the six Paribrājaka rivals of Buddha, and hence, it appears that Purāṇa Kassapa[3] had great influence over the

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1. *J.* V. pp. 278 f.
2. *Añgu, N,* ii p. 31; *Saṁyu. N.* iii p. 73; *Majj. N.* iii. p. 78.
   For commentary of Buddhaghoṣa see *Manoratha-Purāṇi*, Siamese edition, Part ii, p. 377.
3. Purāṇa Kassapa (Pūrṇa Kāsyapa) was a half caste, born in a nobleman's house of a girl that was a foreigner. His birth completed the number of 100 slaves in that house hold .....When offered clothes he declined to accept thinking that as Digaṁbara he would be better respected. "Clothes" said he "are for the concealment of shame, shame is the result of sin, and sin, I have not—since I am a person of sanctity, who is free from evil desires". In the then state of society distracted by religious difference, he gained followers and they soon exceeded eighty thousand – *J. R. A. S.* VI p. 266;
   also *I. A.* VIII p. 312.

people of Utkala during that time. It is further known that the above two tribes of Utkala were subsequently influenced by the teaching of the great Forty (*Mahā chattārisaka Sūtta*)[1] preached at Jetavana by Buddha explaining the monks the meaning and importance of Right concentration. The two tribes then discarded the principles of Purāṇa Kassapa and accepted the Buddhistic faith professing that the *Khandhas* might be divided into past, present, and future. The influence of Buddhism over Kaliñga can be known from the coming of the Tooth relic of Buddha to the royal court of Kaliñga where it was enshrined with great honour.[2]

But Kaliñga was outside the Buddhist Majjhima deśa—the cradle land of Buddha and Buddhism.[3] Early Buddhist literature clearly indicates that the Buddhists in pre-Aśokan period were concerned more with the Middle Country than with an outlying tract like Kaliñga. Jainism, however, had a greater foot hold in Kaliñga since it had penetrated into this territory in its *Chaturyāma* form as early as the time of Pārśvanāth. King Karakaṇḍu, as pointed out above, was very likely a disciple of Pārśva, and under his rule primitive Jainism must have thrived in Kaliñga. Karakaṇḍu, as well as, Kāliñga I are known to have abdicated the throne to lead the life of the Śrāvakas

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1. *Majj. N.* iii pp. 71-78.
2. *Digha N.* ii, p. 167. See also *Dāṭhāvaṁśa* (Punjab Sanskrit Series).
3. The *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (*Mahāvagga* i, p. 197) furnishes the boundaries of the Majjhima Janapada as follows :- Kajaṅgalanigama on the East, the river Sallavatī (Suvarṇarekhā) on the South-east, Sātakaṇikanigama on the South, Thuṇa Bāhmaṇa gāma on the West and Usira Pabbata on the North.

long before the advent of Mahāvīra. Unlike Buddha, Mahāvīra visited the kingdom of Kaliñga to preach his reformed *Pañchayāma* doctrine and the tradition of his visit has been preserved in the late Jaina works like *Harivaṁśa*[1], *Āvaśyakasūtra* and its commentary by Haribhadra[2]. The line 14 of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription*[3] of Khāravela indicates that Mahāvīraswāmī preached his sermon standing on the mount of Kumārī, (Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar) in Kaliñga. It is also known from the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* that the port of Pihuṇḍa in Kaliñga was a place of pilgrimage for the Jainas as early as the time of the Venerable Mahāvīra and both traders and pilgrims were thronging there from far and wide.[4] It may, therefore, be said that Jainism had a considerable influence over the people of Kaliñga by the 6th century B. C.

But the *Jātakas* reveal that the mass of people during the period under review were following the primitive religion in which demi-gods like Yakkhas, Nāgas, Supaṇṇas (Garuḍas) Gandhabbas, Vijjādharas, Rukkhadevatās (Tree goddess), Samudda devatā (sea spirit) etc., were feared and worshipped. The Yakkhas were considered very dreadful with unwinking red eyes and having no shadows of theirs on the ground[5]. The Yakkhinīs were believed to be ensnaring men by their beauty, betwitching music and magic spells and subsequently making them their prey[6]. The Nāga king was

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1. *Jaina Harivaṁśa* iii, 4.
2. *Āvasyaka Sūtra*, pp. 219–20.
3. सुपवत विजय चक्के कुमारी पवते
   (In the Kumarī hill where the wheel of Victory had been well turned). See Appx. to Ch. VI.
4. *Uttdhya Sūtra*, ii. p. 61.
5. *J.* VI. p. 307.
6. *J.* VI. pp. 369-70, *G.* 1164-71.

believed to be living in a luxurious palace underneath the water with mermen and mermaids possessing rare beauty[1]. The Supaṇṇas were the enemies of the Nāgas and were half birds and half men[2]. Gandhabbas and Vijjādharas were believed to be hovering in the air without being visible and they were endowed with aesthetic and artistic virtues. The belief in the Tree goddess was very deep and wide spread and she was often worshipped by sacrificing goats, pigs, cocks, etc[3]. Tree worship was a very old religious practice and in the pre-Aryan Indus culture we find the Tree goddess propitiated by human sacrifices.

The popular belief in the demi-gods, mentioned above, was so universal and deep rooted that Jainism, Buddhism and later Bhāgavatism and Śaivism had to devise some ways and means to honour and assimilate these popular gods in their respective faiths.

Lastly, it may be pointed out that Kaliñga in those days like other parts of India was breathing an atmosphere of peace and harmony. Life was gay and happy and people were enjoying various festivals, games and entertainments. Acrobats, snake-charmers, monkey-trainers, magicians, dancers and musicians were wandering from village to village meting out plenty of mirth and amusement. Besides them, there were various other classes of wandering professional tramps and pedlars who roamed about the villages and catered for joy and fun of the village folk earning at the same time their own livelihood.

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1. *J.* II. p. 13, *J.* VI p. 191.
2. *J.* I. p. 259.
3. In *Jātakas* also we find references to human sacrifices offered to the Tree spirit. See *J.* III p. 160; *J.* V pp. 472, 474, 438.

The following *Gāthās* of the *Tittira Jātaka*[1] depict the experience of one such tramp in the countryside from which we get a true picture of the merry going people of Kaliñga during those days :—

As pedlar thro' Kaliñga land
Rough roads he travelled, staff in hand;
With acrobates he has been found,
And harmless beast in toils has bound;
With dicers too has often played,
And snares for little birds he laid;
In crowds with cudgel-sticks has fought
And gain by measuring corn has sought;
False to his vows in mid night fray
Wounded, he washed the blood away,
His hands he burned thro' being bold,
To snatch at food too hot to hold.[2]

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1. चिरण कालिंग चरित वणिजा
वेत्ताचारो संकुपथो पि चिरणो ।
नटेहि चिरणं सह बाकरेहि
दण्डेहि युद्धं पि समज्जमज्झे ।
बद्धा कुलिका मितमाल्हकेन
अक्खाजिता संयमो अब्भतीतो ।
अब्बूहितं पुप्फकं अड्डरत्तं
हत्था दड्ढा पिण्डपतिग्गहेन ॥

J. III, pp. 541-42, G. 112-13.

2. Courtesy – Śrī R. L. Mehta.

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CHAPTER—IV

KALIÑGA UNDER THE NANDA RULE

Mahāpadmananda

The Janapadas of the 6th century B. C. rapidly declined owing to the forces of imperialism of Magadha under the Haryañka and Śaiśunāga dynasties. Great kings like Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru belonging to the Haryañka-kula made Magadha a mighty power following the policy of military aggrandisement. States like Añga, Vaisālī and Kāśī were annexed to Magadha while Kosala was also reduced to submission. Śiśunāga, who came after the end of the Haryañka rule, conquered Avantī with Vaṁsa (Vatsa) and made Magadha a paramount power in Northern India. Magadha became more warlike and aggrassive when a Sudra popularly known as Mahāpadmananda ascended the throne putting an end to Śaiśunāga dynasty.[1] He violently destroyed all the Kṣatriya dynasties ruling by that time over

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1. Mahāpadmananda also named Ugrasena was according to the Purāṇas born of a Sudrā woman and according to the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of a courtesan by a barber. The Greek writer Q. Curtius also states that he was originally a poor man of the barber class and later on seducing the queen of Magadha treacherously murdered the reigning monarch after which he pretended to be the guardian of the royal princes. He gradually put all the ten princes to death and begot through the queen eight sons who succeeded him one after the other. The king of Magadha who was murdered by the treachery of the barber and the queen was no other than Kālāśoka (also called Kākavarṇa) the son of Śiśunāga. (for the account of Q. Curtius, vide Mc Crindle. *The Invasion of India by Alexander*. p. 222)

different parts of India and the *Purāṇas* thus call him *Sarvakṣatrāntaka* (the destroyer of all Kṣatriyas). The extirpation of the Kṣatriya ruling families was not only a political necessity but was also the outcome of social vengeance of the Sudra monarch. It was by that time that an imperial system of a gigantic nature had been built by the Achaemenides over the then known world from the Black Sea to the Indus valley, and the Magadhan empire under Mahāpadmananda developed as an echo of it right from the Indus valley to the Eastern seas.

It has been suggested in the previous chapter that king Sunanda who was probably the last of the series of 32 Kṣatriya kings of Kaliñga since the Kurukṣetra war was defeated and killed by the Sarvakṣatrāntka Mahāpadmananda who occupied Kaliñga.[1] The Jaina *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* describes the conquest of king Nanda's minister the whole country down to the seas,[2] and this seems to have referred to the occupation of Kaliñga which led to the extension of the Nanda empire upto the Eastern seas.

R. K. Mookerji is of opinion that Mahāpadmananda (whom he wrongly considered to be the last Nanda king) occupied "the small northern part of Kaliñga which formed part of the Nanda empire. A considerable part of Kaliñga lay to the south and it was left to Aśoka to complete the conquest of the whole of Kaliñga from North to South."[1] But the learned scholar who regards Purānic tradition as his authority misses the fact that the Purāṇas represent

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1. Pargiter, *D. K. A.* pp. 23-24.
2. समुद्रवसनेशेभ्य आसमुद्रमपिश्रियः ।
   उपायहरंराकृष्य ततः सेऽकृतनन्दसात् ॥
   Pariśiṣṭaparvan vii, p. 81.
1. *O. H. R. J.* I, No. 2. p. 181.

Mahāpadmananda as the first Nanda king and that they credit him not only as the conqueror of Kaliñga but also of Aśmaka which lay South-west of Kaliñga.[1] The *Hāthīgumphā Inscription*[2] reveals that a Nanda king excavated an aqueduct in Kaliñga not far off Tanasuli (Toṣālī ?) and Nagarī (Kaliñganagarī)[3] which indicates that the heart of Kaliñga was under the Nanda king who as shown below is no other than Mahāpadmananda. There is no doubt, therefore, that the whole of Kaliñga extending from the Ganges to the Goḍāvarī was occupied by the first Nanda king. Ray Chaudhuri[4] points out that the existence of a town named Nau Nand Dehrā (Nander) on the Godāvarī suggests the extension of the empire of the Nandas upto the Aśmaka kingdom or atleast upto the Godāvarī.

In the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* the Nanda king is mentioned twice in connection with his occupation of Kaliñga. In line 6 of the Inscription it is stated that Nandarāja had excavated a canal which was enlarged in the 5th year of the reign of Khāravela who made it flow to the capital city (Kaliñganagarī) through Tanasuli (Toṣālī ?). And the line 12 reveals that the Nanda king had taken away the Kāliñga Jina from Kaliñga which was brought back by Khāravela along with the treasure of Añga and Magadha.

As to the identification of the 'Nandarāja' in the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* there is a difference of opinion among scholars. K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji identify[5]

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1. *D. K. A.* pp. 25-26.
2. *E. I.* XX, 72 f. See Appendix to Ch. VI.
3. Identified with Śiśupālgarh.
4. *P. H. A. I.* p. 235.
5. *J. B. O. R. S.* IV, 1918, p. 91 & *Ibid.* XIII 1927 pp. 237 f. R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa*, Vol. I. p. 60 identifies him with Mahāpadma Nanda.

Nandarāja with Nandivardhana, the Śaiśunāga king mentioned in the *Mahāvodhivaṁśa*, as well as, in the *Purāṇas*, while K.C. Panigrahi[1] following B.M. Barua takes him as Aśoka, the illustrious Maurya emperor. It may be said that Khāravela in both the places of his Inscription refers to the Nanda king (Nanda rāja) who to all possible reasons belonged to the Nanda dynasty, and not to either the Śaiśunāga or the Maurya family as our learned scholars are inclined to believe.

But Jayaswal and Banerji attempt identification of Pūrvananda, a legendary character in the *Kathāsarit Sāgara* of Somadeva and *Vṛhat kathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra (both belonging to the 11th century A. D.), with Nandi-vardhana, who in his turn is identified by them with the Nanda king of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription.*[2] But Pūrvananda in these stories is not represented as a ruler, although one Yogānanda has been depicted as the re-animated corpse of a Nanda king.[3] These two Nandas are not associated with one another and both have been given a fairy touch by the imagination of the story tellers. The attempt of identifying Pūrvananda with Nandivardhana is, therefore, far fetched and untenable. The Śaiśunāga king Nandivardhana is a shadowy figure in Indian history and he is no where credited with any conquest what-so-ever. Thus his identification with Nandarāja, the conqueror of Kaliṅga has no historical basis.

K.C. Panigrahi identifies Nandarāja of the *Hāthī-gumphā Inscription* with Aśoka, on the ground that his (Aśoka's) grandfather Chandragupta Maurya is called 'Nandānvaya' in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, a drama by Viśākhādatta

1. *J. A. S.* XIX, 1953, pp 25 f.
2. *J. B. O. R. S.* IV. p. 91 f.
3. *Kathisarit Sāgara*, Edited by Durgaprasad and Parab; p. 10.

of the 6th century A.D., and 'Pūrvanandasuta' in the *Kathāsarit Sāgara* of Somadeva.[1] It may be said that Viśākhādatta knows Chandragupta as a scion of the Maurya family and he calls him as Mauryaputra[2] (descendent of the Mauryas), Maurya Vṛṣala[3] (bull among the Mauryas) and Mauryendu[4] (moon of the Maurya family) at several places in his drama.[5] This cannot however, be reconciled with the expression 'Nandānvaya' which should be taken here to have conveyed the meaning of succession rather than of descendence. The fact that Chandragupta Maurya succeeded the last Nanda king seems to have confounded the playwright to refer to him as Nandānvaya.[6] Further, it has been pointed out above that Pūrvananda of the *Kathāsarit Sāgara* of Somadeva or of *Vṛhat kathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra is a character

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1. In none of the Brāhmanical, Buddhistic and Jaina works, which give account of the ruling Nanda dynasty, Pūrvananda is mentioned as a member of the dynasty.
2. *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act II Verse 6.
3. *Ibid* Act. III Verse 11.
   This verse states "*Nṛprtimakaron Maurya Vṛṣalaṁ*" meaning that Chāṇakya made *Maurya vṛṣala* a king. The word 'Vṛṣala' has been explained in different ways by scholars and according to some it means 'Sudra'. M. Govind Pai derives the word from the Greek 'Basıleus' through following stages—Basila-Basala-Bṛṣala (*P. K. Gode commemoration volume* pp. 141-50), Dr. R. K. Mookerjı and Sri N. N, Ghose explain the word 'Vṛṣala' as *Vṛṣa* (bull) among men. In the *Mudrārākṣasa* we find Chāṇakya addressing Chandragupta with endearing tone as 'Vṛṣala' the meaning of which cannot be Sudra.
4. *Ibid* Verse 12.
5. In Act IV of the *Mudrārākṣasa* we find a reference to the new sovereignty of the Mauryas in the expression—'*Maurya nave rājani.*'
6. If the word 'Nandānvaya' be taken to convey the meaning of descendence it may be pointed out that Viśākhādatta who belonged to the 6th century A. D. is the earliest writer to call Chandragupta as of Nanda descent. No work prior to him—Brāhmanical, Buddhist, Jain or Greek-represent Chandragupta as a descendent of the Nanda kings.

more legendary than historical and it would be contrary to sober history if Chandragupta Maurya be made identical with his name sake, the son of Pūrvananda. Kṣemendra knows Aśoka the grandson of Chandragupta as belonging to Maurya clan and in his *Avadāna Kalpalatā* he calls him a Lion of the great forest of the glorious Maurya family[1] (*Saurya-Maurya-Mahāvaṁśavanapañchānana Śrīmad-Aśvokadevaḥ*). Thus, the attempt to identify the Nanda king of the *Hath gumphā Inscription* on the basis of medieval literature proves abortive and it is worthwhile to look to early literary sources for arriving at a proper conclusion.

That Chandragupta Maurya had no family affinity with the Nanda king is known from the accounts of the early Greek writers. Plutarch, for instance, says, "Androkottas himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander himself, and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could easily have taken possession of the whole country (of the Gañgaridai and Prasii) since the king was hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his dispositions and the meanness of his origin."[2] Justine[3] also speaks almost in the same terms representing Chandragupta as seeking the support of the people to oust the Nanda king who was of disreputable origin. It may be said that, Chandragupta, who was making political capital by pointing out the low birth of the Nanda king could not himself be a descendant of the Nanda family.[4]

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1. *Avadāna Kalpalatā*, story no 59.
2. *Life of Alexander*, lxii,
3. Justin, xv.
4. In the *Arthaśāstra* Kautilya prefers an *Abhijīta* (high born) king even though he is powerless, to a king of low birth but of great power on the ground that the people of their own accord welcome the former and are averse to the latter, (Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, VIII, 2). This reads like justification for preferring an humble prince like Chandragupta, a true born Kṣatriya, to the Sudra king Nanda with all his power and pelf.

On the otherhand, all our authorities, Brāhmanical, Jaina and Buddhist, agree with the fact that Chandragupta was a scion of the Maurya family (Maurya putra.) The *Vāyu, Matsya* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* mention that the Maurya kings enjoyed the earth after the Nandas and that Kautilya after ousting the Nanda family placed Chandragupta on the throne.[1] This has been made more explicit in the *Mahāvaṁśa,* which states :

> "Afterwards the nine Nandas were king in succession; they too reigned for twenty two years. Then did the Brāhmaṇa Chāṇakya anoint a glorious youth, known by the name of Chandragupta, king as over all Jaṁvudvīpa, born of a noble clan the Moriyas; when filled with bitter hate he had slain the ninth (Nanda) Dhanananda."[2]

The Jaina *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* makes Mahāpadma the son of a courtesan by a barber[3] but the same work declares Chandragupta as the son of the daughter of the Chief of the clan of peacock tamers *(Mora posagā).*[4]

From these references it becomes obvious that the Maurya dynasty was distinct from the Nanda dynasty and

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1. Pargiter, *DKA.* pp. 26-27.
2. Geiger, *Mahāvṁśa,* p. 27
3. गणिका कुकुस्थिजन्म नापित कुमार:
   Pariśiṣṭaparvan, p.46. Text VI, pp. 231-232.
4. *Ibid,* p. 56. Text VIII, p. 229 f. The same fact is also found in *Sukhavodhā* of Devendragaṇin, a commentary on the '*Uttarājjhayana*' the first of the four *Mūla suttas* of the *Śvetāmbara Siddhānta.*

   The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (I. 102.) states that one Śakuni was the great grand father of Aśoka – meaning the father of Chandragupta,

that there was no blood relation between the two.[1] It is, therefore, quite unhistorical to regard Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya as a Nanda king. This conclusion is confirmed by the *Junagarh Rock Inscription* of the Brāhamanical Śaka ruler Mahākṣatrāpa Rudradāman (dated in the Śaka era 72, i e. 150 A.D.) where Chandragupta, as well as, his grandson Aśoka are clearly mentioned as Maurya kings.[2] It becomes inexplicable as to why Khāravela would represent Aśoka as Nandarāja when Rudradāman calls him a Maurya

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1. The fact that Chandragupta had blood relation with the Nandas, was first propounded by Ratnagarbhā, the commentator of the *Purāṇas* although none of the Purāṇas hold such view. The commentator says that Chandragupta was the son of Nanda by a wife called Murā, after whom he and his descendants were called Mauryas (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, iv, 24; Wilson IX, 187). Dhuṇḍirāja, the commentator of the Mudrārākṣasa, who came after Ratnagarbhā, made further addition to this tradition by saying that Chandragupta was the eldest son of Maurya who was the son of Nanda king Sarvārthasiddha by Murā daughter of Vṛṣala. There is no doubt that Murā, who is conspicuous by her absence in the original Purāṇas, is a figment of imagination of Ratnagarbhā who attempts to explain the term 'Maurya by bringing her to the picture. But the learned commentator was apparently lacking in grammatical knowledge. According to Pāṇini the metronymic form of Murā is Maureya and not Maurya, which is patronymic form of Mura (Pāṇini iv, 1, 151). Unfortunately Dhuṇḍirāja who adds further imaginative elements to the Murā tradition blindly accepts the derivation of Ratnagarbhā. Further, according to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv, 10, 12), and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (iii 7), the son takes the caste of the father, born of conjugal wedlock or not. Hence the tradition that Chandragupta was born of Murā by the Nanda king is a later fabrica ion and is completely untenable.

2. मौर्य्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्रगुप्तस्य राष्ट्रियेण वैश्येन पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितं
अशोकस्य मौर्य्यस्य कृते यवनराजेन तुषास्फेनाधिष्ठाय प्रणालीभिरलंकृतं ।

Ll. 8-9, *Junāgarh Rock Inscription*, *E. I.*, VIII, pp. 42 f.

king. That Khāravela knew of the Mauryas as distinct from the Nandas, is clearly revealed by his *Hāthigumphā Inscription.* The line 16 of the Inscription states that 'Khāravela revived the *Tauryatrika* with its sixty four branches that had been suspended in the time of the Mauryas.'[1] Evidently, Nandarāja of the *Hāthigumphā Inscription* is not a Maurya king and he cannot be taken as Aśoka.

History knows only of one Nanda ruling dynasty, in which nine kings including Mahāpadmananda[2] flourished. The Purānas[3], Jaina works[4], and the Ceylonese chronicle[5]

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1. See Appendix to Ch. VI Line 16.
Dr. D. C. Sircar is inclined to read '*Muriyakala*" of the Inscription as '*Mukhiyakala*'. In that case the word '*Vochhinam*' which follows *Mukhiya kala* bears no meaning. The reading '*Muriyakala*' is quite legible in the inscription and for further discussion on this see *Infra* Chapter VI.

2. According to the Purānic tradition Mahāpadmananda was the father of eight Nanda kings who succeeded him, where as, Buddhist tradition as recorded in the *Mahāvaṁśa* makes Ugrasena (same as Mahāpadma) the eldest brother of the eight succeeding Nanda kings.

3. सुकल्पादि सुताह्यष्टौ
समद्वादशवे नृपाः ।
महापद्मस्य पर्य्याये
भविष्यन्ति नृपाःक्रमात् ।।
(*Matsya, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*) *D. K. A*, pp. 25 and 26.

4. नन्दवंशे नवमोनन्दराय।
– Jacobi's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, App. p. 2.
द्विजोवररुचिस्त्वासीन्
नवनन्दं स शंसति ।
Kalpasuvodhikī viii, 58. Also see *Abhidhāna Rājendra* IV. Thulabhadra.

5. *Mahāvaṁśa*, Geiger. p. 27. *Mahāvoahuvaṁśa*, p. 98.

are unanimous in the fact that nine Nanda kings ruled in the dynasty of the Nandas. Nandarāja of the *Hāthīguṁphā Inscription* must be taken to be one of the Nanda kings of this historical dynasty. According to the *Purāṇas* Mahāpadma, the destroyer of all the Kṣatriyas, occupied Kaliñga after annihilating the ruling Kṣatriya dynasty and thus there cannot be any reasonable doubt in the identification of Mahāpadmanananda, the conqueror of Kaliñga, with Nandarāja mentioned in the inscription of Khāravela.

According to Barua, the statement of Aśoka in the R.E. XIII, implies that 'Aśoka was the first among Indian Kings reigning after Buddha's demise to conquer the theretofore unconquered land of the Kaliñgas (*Avijitahi Vijiyamane*) and annexed the same to his own kingdom."[1] But, that Kaliñga was conquered by Mahāpadma before Aśoka is clearly indicated by the *Purāṇas*. It has been pointed out in the previous chapter that Kaliñga once formed a part of the Daṇḍaka empire and later one had also to sustain a defeat at the hands of Aruṇa, the king of Assaka. Thus Kaliñga had been defeated on various occasions before Aśoka, and the expression 'Avijita' in the Rock edict cannot therefore be taken to be meaning 'theretofore unconquered'. The word 'Avijita' or 'unconquered' may be judged in the analogy of the claims of some later rulers. Samudragupta, for example, declared that, he conquered several kings who were never conquered before. If, however, a literal meaning is to be sought for, the word 'Avijita' may be said to denote the fact that Kaliñga was unconquered by the ancestors of Asoka—his father Bindusāra and grand-father Chandragupta.

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1. *Old Brahmi Inscriptions* p. 279.

Date of Mahāpadmananda.

According to the *purāṇas* Mahāpadmananda was followed by his eight sons, who ruled for a period of twelve years after which Chandragupta Maurya occupied the throne of Magadha by defeating and slaying the last Nanda king.[1] The accession of Chandragupta Maurya may be ascribed to 322 B. C. on the basis of the two partition treaties of the generals of Alexander the Great.[2] Immediately after the death of Alexander in 323 B. C. his empire was divided among his generals, who signed the first partition treaty at Babylon, and in that treaty, 'India to the East of the river Indus' was mentioned as part and parcel of the Macedonian empire. But the signatories of the treaty of Babylon could not remain satisfied with the new arrangements and so a second partition treaty was made at Triparidesus in 321 B. C. Significantly enough, in this second treaty 'India to the East of the Indus' was not mentioned as part of the empire, and thus that territory had been liberated in between 323 B. C. and 321 B. C. Chandragupta Maurya who happened to be the leader of the liberation movement[3] succeeded in driving out the Greeks to the West of the Indus and in defeating the Nanda king during the period intervening the two partition treaties. The year 322 B. C. may, therefore, be regarded as the date of his accession to the throne of Magadha.

The eight sons of Mahāpadmananda ruled for a period of twelve years only, in between the death of Mahāpadma and the accession of Chandragupta. So Mahāpadma-

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1. Traditional accounts of Chandragupt's war against the last Nanda king are found in *Milinda pāñho* (S. B. E. XXXVI p. 147), the *Purāṇas* (*D, K. A.* p. 26), *Mudrārākṣasa* (II), *Pariśiṣ'aparvan* (VIII).
2. *C. H. I.* (Indian Reprint, 1955), pp. 382-386.
3. R. K. Mukherjee, *Chandragupta Maurya & his times*. 2nd Ed. 1952, pp. 31 f.

nanda may be taken to have breathed his last in 334 B. C. (B. C. 322+12 years). There is, however, a difference of opinion among the *Purāṇas* regarding the duration of the rule of Mahāpadma. The *Matsya* and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* state that he ruled for a period of 88 years;[1] but according to the *Vāyu Purāṇas*, his rule lasted only for 28 years[2]. Ray chaudhuri aptly argues that, the figure 88 (*Aṣṭāsiti*) is probably a mistake for 28 (*Astaviṁsati*).[3] According to Tārānāth[4], Nanda (Mahāpadmananda) ruled for a period of 29 years. The *Vāyu* version of 28 years seems to be not far away from truth and it may be pointed out that although some of the later *Purāṇas*, like *Bhaviṣya* and *Viṣṇu* attribute 100 years to all the nine Nanda kings[5], the earlier *Purāṇas*, like the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*, are silent about the total duration of their rule.

The Greek and the Jaina writers maintain that Mahāpadmananda came to the throne when he was sufficiently matured in age, and that, before assuming royalty he acted as the guardian of the ten sons of Kākavarṇī Kālāśoka, the last Śaiśunāga King.[6] Having put the young princes to death, one after the other, he subsequently usurped the throne of Magadha, and as such, his rule for a long period of 88 years appears quite improbable. The only reasonable view, therefore, is to accept the *Vāyu* version of the Purānic tradition and to allot a period of 28 years to his reign; in this consideration, Mahāpadmananda reigned from 362 B. C. (28+12+322 BC) to 334 B.C. (12 years + 322 B.C.).

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1. *D. K. A.* p. 25.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *P. H. A. I.* p. 236.
4. *I. A.* 1875, p. 362.
5. *D. K. A.* p. 26.
6. Mc. Crindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 232. also *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, vi pp. 231-232.

Rule of Mahāpadmananda.

Mahāpadmananda, who is also known as Ugrasena in the Ceylonese Chronicles, conquered large number of kingdoms in North and South of India. According to the Purānic tradition, he occupied the kingdoms of the Ikṣvākus (of Ayodhyā) Pañchālas, Kāśīs, Haihayas, Kaliñgas, Aśmakas (Assakas), Kurus, Maithilas, Surasenas, Vitihotras, etc.[1] Some medieval inscriptions reveal that the Kuntala country (Northern Mysore) also formed a part of Mahāpadma's empire.[2] Thus the all conquering Mahāpadma was successful in unifyiny the major portion of India under his Sceptre and his empire extended from the river Beas in the North-west upto Northern Mysore.[3] The Nanda king after ascending the throne of Magadha must have devoted to the conquest and consolidation of the territories of Northern India before leading his campaign towards the South. Territories like Asska and Kaliñga were very likely conquered by him towards the later part of his imperial career, about 350 B.C.

After conquering Kaliñga Mahāpadmananda is known to have taken away to Magadha the image of Kāliñga Jina as a trophy of his victory[4]. K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji identify the Jina of Kaliñga with the 10th Tīrthañkara Śitalanātha, who according to the Jaina tradition was born at Bhadalpura, identfied with Bhadrā-

1. *D. K. A.*—pp. 23-24.
2. Rice, *Mysore & Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 3.
3. The River Beas formed the North-western boundary of the Nanda empire and Alexander conquered upto that limit.
   Curtius ix, 2, See also
   Arrian v, 25—Mc Crindle's
   Invasion of India by Alexader, pp. 121-122.
4. *E. I.* XX, pp. 74 f.

chalaṁ[1] or Bhadrapuraṁ, a place at presnt situated in the Godāvarī district of Andhra Pradesh. But this identification is highly doubtful as the conception regarding the traditional twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras cannot be said to be as old as the time of Mahāpadmananda. But Ṛṣabhanātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha, and Mahāvīra were certainly not unkown in India in ancient period and sculptural representation of these Jinas are found in the early caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri. Images of these four Jinas belonging to the early Christian centuries have also been unearthed in the Mathurā region. In the *Kalpa-sūtra*, attrributed to Bhadravāhu, the Jaina pontiff of the 4th century B. C., the accounts of these four Jinas are given ceremoniously while those of the other twenty are less elaborate, a fact which suggests later interpolation. It thus becomes evident that the four Jinas mentioned above were the earliest known Tīrthaṅkaras in India and that the number swelled to twentyfour by addition of twenty more Jinas in subsequent time. It is, however, not possible to say as to who among these early four Jinas was known as Kāliṅga Jina, but in view of the great influence of Ṛṣabhanātha in the religious tradition of Kaliṅga since Khāravela, it may reasonably be suggested that it was Jina Ṛṣabha who was revered as Kāliṅga Jina in ancient time.[2]

The people of Kaliṅga must have been wounded at heart by the defeat and death of their Kṣatriya king at the

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1. *I. A.* II, p. 136.
2. It may be pointed out that in the *Chulla Kāliṅga Jātaka* the national god of Kaliṅga is said to have been represented by a white bull the symbol of Ṛṣabha deva.

   In this connection it may be said that the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha is revered at Śatruñjaya as Śatruñjaya Jina; at Ābu as Arbuda Jina and at Dhulew as Dhulew Jina. In view of this it would not be unreasonable to suggest that Ṛṣabhanātha was regarded as Kāliṅga Jina in Kaliṅga in early time. For further suggestion, see *infra*—Chapter VI.

hands of the Sudra monarch of Magadha who forcibly carried away the Jina image—which was probably the symbol of their national glory—as a trophy of his triumph. The Nanda king, on the other hand, tried to pacify the people by under taking works of public welfare, and his greatest achievement in Kaliñga was the excavation of an aqueduct in order to avert the natural calamities like drought and famine which were not infrequently occuring in that territory.[1] This is the first recorded evidence of the attempt of canal irrigation in Kaliñga and this bold project must have been undertaken by the Nanda king after full consolidation of his rule in that territory. The work may, however, be said to have completed before 334 B.C. the year of his death.

K. C. Panigrahi, who is inclined to identify the Nanda king with Aśoka, observes that "There is no evidence to show that Nanda king of whom Mahāpadmananda was the most prominent ever under took the construction of irrigation works for the benefit of their subjects; on the other hand we have it on the authority of the *Purāṇas* and the Greek sources that they were greedy. opperssive and most unpopular among their subjects."[2] It my be pointed out that the Greek writers and the *Purāṇas* have no where referred to Mahāpadmananda as greedy and oppressive. They, however, speak of the last Nanda king as unpopular among the subjects because of his low origin and wicked dispositions. On the other hand, *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* represents king Nanda

1. The *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (*J.* II, 367 f). as well as the *Vessantara Jātaka* (*J.* VI. 387 f) bear testimony to the droughts and famines of Kaliñga in the past.
2. *J. A. S.* XIX, No. 1, p. 26.

(Mahāpadma)[1] as a virtuous and wise ruler and states that he was indiscriminately patronising both the Brāhmins and the Buddhists. Thus, there is no reason to suppose that Mahāpadmanada was greedy and oppressive and that he did not undertake public works for the benefit of his subjects.

After Mahāpadma, his eight sons succeeded one after the other and ruled the empire for a period of twelve years.[2] According to the *Mahāvodhi vaṁśa* these eight rulers were Pāṇḍuka, Pāṇḍugati, Bhūtapāla, Rāṣṭrapāla, Goviṣāṇaka, Daśasiddhaka, Kaivarta and Dhana.[3] The last king is known as Agrammes or Xandrames in the work of the classical Greek writers. Very little is, however, known about the activities of the Nanda kings who followed Mahāpadma and their short lived reign indicates that serious trouble had already set in after the demise of the Great Nanda. The Greek sources reveal that Agrammes the last Nanda king was a man of worthless character and was "detested and held cheap by his subjects'.[4] He is described by them as the king of Prasii and Gañgaridai, which indicates that his empire in the East extended atleast upto the Ganges' mouth.[5] It may be pointed out that Gañgaridai did not mean the entire Kaliñga stretching from the Ganges to the Godāvarī, and we know from the authority of Pliny that it comprised only the Northern

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1. King Nanda of *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* is identified with Mahāpadma on the ground that the *Mūlakalpa* corroborating the ceylonese chronicle and the *Purāṇas* states that Nanda acted as the minister of the successors of Viśoka (Kālāśoka).
2. Pargiter, *D. K. A.* p. 26.
3. Ray Chaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.* p. 236.
4. Mc. Crindle. *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 222
5. Mc. Crindle, *Ancient India*, p. 136.

part of Kaliñga.[1] Evidently, the heart of Kaliñga had already seceded from the Nanda domination during the troublous period following the death of Mahāpadmananda, and the Nanda kings remained contented with their suzerainty over the Gañgaridai portion. By the time when Chandragupta and Kautilya raised the standard of rebellion against the infamous Nanda king, Gañgaridai (North Kaligñga) also slipped off the Magadhan empire and Kaliñga became a compact and extensive territory. Thus synchroneous with the rising power of the Mauryas in Magadha, Kaliñga resumed her national integrity and rapidly developed as a powerful state.

The Nanda rule in Kaliñga was very short and it lasted only about a quarter of a century (cir, 350-325 B C.). But during this period Kaliñga could become materially prosperous because of various development works undertaken by the Nanda kings. The excavation of canals for the purpose of irri ation during the rule of Mahāpadmananda has already been referred to, and this must have resulted in ood agriculture and we find this canal system renovated and extended during the rule of Khāravela obviously for the same purpose. The Nanda kings encouraged trade and commerce throughout the empire and their economic policy not only made the country prosperous but also greatly swelled the imperial exchequer. The grammarian Pāṇini, who is ascribed to this period, refers to a particular kind of weight and measure[1] introduced by the Nanda kin :s to regulate trade. Pāṇini also

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1. See *Supra* Ch. II. Curtius clearly indicates that the people of Gañgaridai were a distinct nation from the people of Prasii— Curtius ix. 2. Mc. Crindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander* pp. 221-222.
2. नन्दोपक्रमाणि मानानि
Aṣṭādhyāyī. ii, 4, 21.

refers to the flourishing trade of the Taitila Janapada[1] which was very likely a part of Kaliñga.[2] V. S. Agrawala[3] is inclined to believe that the Taitila territory was probably the modern Titilāgarh region of Orissa. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* reveals that this territory was very famous for the trade of *Kadru* which was some tawny coloured material—probably a type of cotton fabric of that colour[4]. Pāṇini's reference to the flourishing trade of Kaliñga has been corroborated by the finds of Punch marked silver coins, some of which are datable to the pre-Mauryan period. These coins testify to a great extent the economic prosperity of Kaliñga under the Nanda rule and the fact that a hoard of these have been found at Sonepur[5], in the present Bolangir district, indicates that the Western part of modern Orissa, where Titilāgarh is also located, was famous for trade during that period. The coins of the Sonepur hoard bear on the obverse a group of four symbols resembling closely that of the Bijnor hoard described by Durgaprasad[6] and also those of the Paila hoard examined by Walsh.[7] The Sonepur coins, however, are of 12 *rati* standard while the Bijñor and Paila coins are respectively of 24 and 25 *rati* standard So if the Bijnor and Paila specimens are to be taken as the *Karṣapaṇa* coins, the Sonepur varieties may

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1. *Ibid.* vi. 2. 42.
2. According to later Lexicons – *Nānārthārṇava* ii p. 891 and *Vaijayantī*, p. 37, Verse. 26. – the Taitila Janapada was synonymous with Kaliñga.
3. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 61; *Ibid* p. 440.
4. Dr. V. S. Agrawala thinks that *Taitila Kadru* was probably rhinoceros hides from Taitila, modern Titilāgarh.
5. *O. H. R. J.*, *I*, pp. 123-26
6. *J. N. S. I.* I, pp. 1-4.
7. *J. N. S. I.* II. pp. 15-29.

be regarded as the *Ardha Kārṣāpaṇa* ones of the period[1]. The Sonepur-Titilāgarh region appears to have been connected with towns like Dantapura and Pithuṇḍa in the coastal region of Kaliṅga on the one hand, and Kausāmbī and Kāśī in ancient Kosala on the other hand. Thus, Kaliṅga in the 4th century B. C. was associated with the economic and political life of Northern India and she was very likely materially benefitted by the imperial system organised by Mahāpadmananda.

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4. There are also specimens of *Arddhyardha* Punch marked coins of the period. For illustrations vide. *J. N. S. I.* III, pp-51-52.

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CHAPTER—V

KALIÑGA UNDER THE MAURYA RULE

Aśoka

The Maurya empire founded by Chandragupta was mightier and more extensive than the empire of the Nandas. Chandragupta not only obtained the empire built by Mahāpadma, but also the Indian portion of Alexander's empire. Ray Chaudhuri rightly observes, "if Ugrasena Mahāpadma was the precursor of Chandragupta Maurya in the East, Alexander was the forerunner of that emperor in the North-west."[1] Further, Chandragupta could also secure a portion of the Syrian emire of Seleucus and extended his dominion upto the foot of the Hindukush in the North-west.[2]

But. although, Chandragupta could build such a mighty imperial structure, from Hindukush to Mysore, embracing roughly the *Chakravartī Kṣetra* depicted in the *Arthaśāstra*,[3] Kaliñga including the Gañgaridai portion remained out side this empire and thrived as an independent and powerful state. The rapid growth of Magadha in extent and power must have stimulated Kaliñga to consolidate her newly earned political freedom and to prepare herself against any imperial aggression. Kaliñga, then appears to have organised her trade economy on a sound footing by vigorous maritime activities. That, the people of Kaliñga

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1. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 263.
2. Strabo, *Geography*, trans. by H. L. Jones, (XV. 2. 9) p. 143.
3. *Artha-śāstra* ix, 1

had already established their colonies in Burma, is know from the Burmese tradition and Okkalaba at the Irrawaddy delta was one of these ancient colonies.[1] Gerini in his *Researches* on Ptolemy's Geogrophy, has also pointed out that "The mighty people of Kaliñga had established an empire in Burma long before Aśoka led his victorious soldiers into Kaliñga."[2] The early over-seas trade of Kaliñga is also pointed out in the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[3] which refers to Pihuṇḍa as a flourishing port where merchants from distant lands used to flock together for business. The *Mahāvaṁśa* also speaks of the famous port of Tāmralipti, wherefrom Therī Saṁghamittā sailed to Ceylon with the sappling of the Bo-tree accompanied by a large retinue.[4] These references indicate that Kaliñga had an intimate maritime relations with distant over-seas countries like Ceylon and Burma by the third century B. C.[5]

The commercial prosperity of Kaliñga known from the finds of early Punch marked coins, as well as, from her maritime relation, must have greatly strengthened her political power and stability. Her invincible elephant

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1. For the Burmese tradition vide Lt. Colonel A. P. Fhyre, *J. A. S. B.*, 1859-pp. 473-76.
2. *Gerini*, pp. 119-139.
3. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* xxi, 1-4.
4. *Mahāvaṁśa* xi, pp. 20-23;
   and x, pp. 38-39;
   also xix, pp. 5-6.
5. Prof. R. D. Banerji believes, on traditional evidences, that "Kaliñga had built up a great over-seas empire and spread her colonies as far as the Philippine Islands in the East and far south into the islands of Indian Archipelago" (*History of Orissa* I, pp. 62). It may be pointed out that the Kaliñga people who were the pioneer colonists, are regarded even today, by the natives of Indonesia and Oceania with awe and wonder as people from the Sky who civilised them and taught them the rudiments of culture (*Ibid*—p. 108).

corps which was dreaded by the neighbouring nations because of its over-whelming number has been referred to by the Greek writer Diodorus[1], while Kauṭilya[2] admires the elephants of Kaliñga, as the best of their types in India. That Kaliñga by that time had possessed a vast army to defend her independence against any impending aggression, is clearly known from the colossal nature of the Kaliñga war of Aśoka.

Kaliñga with her political, economic and military power, was naturally regarded as a potential danger for the growing Magadhan empire, but Chandragupta, who could subdue almost the whole of India did not go to risk a war with her. Even during the reign of Bindusāra, who according to Lāmā Tārānāth suppressed the revolts organised by the nobles and kings of sixteen territories of India[3] and assumed the epithet of 'Slayer of Foes'[4] (*Amitrachates* or *Amitraghāta*), Magadha did not entertain the idea of fighting with Kaliñga. Evidently in the days of Chandragupta Maurya the newly founded empire demanded greater attention for internal consolidation and during the rule of Bindusāra the internal revolts made the monarch busy in pacifying the troubles. The Mauryas

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1. Diodorus states "The Gangaridai possesses a vast force of the largest size elephants. Owing to this, their country has never been conquered by any foreign king, for all other nations dread the over-whelming numbr and strength of these animals." For the strength of Gañgaridai See Mc Crindle's *Megasthenes*, pp. 33 f.
2. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 2.
3. See *J. B. O. R. S.* II pp. 79 f.
   "Chāṇakya" says Tārānāth, "one of his (Bindusāra's) great lords procured the destruction of the nobles and kings of sixteen towns and made the king master of all the territory between Eastern and Western Seas".
4. Dr. J. Charpentier, *Le Monde Oriental* quoted in *Calcutta Review*-May-June, 1926, p. 399.

had to wait upto the eighth year of the reign of Aśoka to cross swords with Kaliñga.

THE KALIÑGA WAR

Its causes

As hinted above, a sort of cold war was going on between Kaliñga and Magadha during the reigns of Chandragupta and Bindusāra, as well as, in the early years of Aśoka's rule. The Kaliñga-Magadha war was inevitable in the logic of history. The imperialism of Magadha, which had started with the conquest of Añga by Bimbisāra about the middle of the sixth century B.C., became a gigantic force after Bindusāra, and it could not stop before rounding up the empire by engulfing Kaliñga. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[1] observes, that Kaliñga was "a sort of wedge driven into the body-politic and might at any time conspire with the foreign Choḍa kingdoms which were to the south." Aśoka's empire had surrounded Kaliñga in North, West and South and from the stand point of strategy and military cansideration a powerful Kaliñga could not be a matter of indifference to the Magadhan monarch. The consolidated strength of Kaliñga was thus threatening the very foundation of the Maurya imperial structure.

Besides these political considerations important economic and commercial factors were underlying the rivalry between Kaliñga and Magadha. Kaliñga, practically monopolised the over-seas trade in the Indian ocean[2] and trade in the Mediterranean World was then controlled by the enterprisers of Carthage,[3] while the Red sea and the Persian

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1. *Aśoka*, 1955, p. 23.
2. R. D. Banerje *Histroy of Orissa* I, ch. VII,
3. The *Cambridge Ancient History*, VII pp. 665-66.

Gulf regions were under the control of the then powerful Arab tribes.[1] No doubt, the Mauryas had intimate relations with the contemporary Hellenistic powers in the West, but their foreign relations appear to be more of social[2] and cultural than of commercial nature. It may also be pointed out that the Mauryas by that time had not built up a naval power and the *Nāvādhyakṣa* or the Superintendent of Shipping mentioned by Kauṭilya was in charge of policing the rivers, lakes and the sea-shores, rather than organising the ships for maritime enterprises.[3] The aversion of Kauṭilya[4] for trade in the mid-ocean (*Samyānapatha*) and his preference for trade along the coast (*Kūlapatha*) amply suggests that the Mauryas were lagging behind in over-seas trade. Moreover, important trade routes from the Gangetic valley to the Deccan and further South passed through Kaliñga and the control of these routes was perhaps considered essential for the interest of Magadha. Thus the growing Magadha empire inspite of its foreign associations and internal resources was confronted with commercial crisis. It was probably rightly apprehended that the continued existence of a flourishing Kaliñga with her thriving trade might adversely affect the economy of the Maurya empire. Under these circumstances war with Kaliñga was a pressing necessity for Aśoka.

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1. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, p. 457.
2. On the authority of Appian who refers to a matrimonial relationship (Kedos) between Seleucus and Androcottus. Dr. Tarn suggests that Bindusāra married a Seleucid princess and that Aśoka was a Seleucid on the distaff side. Matrimonial relations were an important factor for friendly intercourse between the Mauryan and Syrian empires.
3. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 28.
4. *Ibid*, VII, 12. And also R. K. Mookerjee's *Chandragupta Maurya & His times*, 1952, pp. 208-09.

The fact that some economic factors underlie the Kaliñga war seems to have been suggested by Lāmā Tārānāth as well. The Tibetan author[1] states that the Nāgas (spirits of the sea) stole away the jewels from Aśoka, at which the emperor became angry and conquered the territory of the Nāgas. Eggermont[2] is inclined to identify the Nāgas with the seafaring people of Kaliñga and the conquest of their territory is explained by this scholar as the conquest of Kaliñga. Tārānāth further states that Aśoka conquered the Nāgas after gaining sufficient merit, which according to Eggermont, means his conversion to Buddhism. But the conversion of Aśoka, as discussed below, did not ante-date the Kaliñga war, nor did the war with the Nāgas lead to the conquest of the entire Jaṁbudvīpa as the Lāmā is inclined to believe.

A strange anecdote regarding the cause of the Kaliñga war of Aśoka is prevalent in Orissa particularly among the fishermen class of the Eastern coast.[3] According to this, Aśoka invaded Kaliñga being infatuated by the beauty of Kāruvākī the fiancée of the crown prince of Kaliñga. After his victorry, Aśoka was converted to Buddhism as Kāruvākī desired that she should marry only to her coreligionist. That Kāluvākī, the mother of Tivara, was the second queen of Aśoka, is known to us from the *Queen's Edict*[4] in which the emperor orders the *Mahāmātras* to give wide publicity to the religious endowments made by Kāluvākī. But nothing is known about the early life of this queen from the edicts of Aśoka and the Buddhist

1. Tārānāth, *Geschichte*, VI. pp. 31-33.
2. *Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya*, p. 88,
3. Vide H. K. Mahtab, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 20.
4. Senart. *I. A.* VIII, pp 308 f. Hultzsch. *C. I. I.* Vol. I, pp. 158 f.

literature is entirely silent about her. This episode may therefore, be regarded as legendary and not historical.

The War.

Aśoka succeeded his father Bindusāra in 273 B. C., but due to some internal troubles his coronation was delayed by four years.[1] It was, therefore, from 269 B. C. that Aśoka set himself to the task of organising his military resources as a preparation for the impending war. The army of 6,00,000, men 9,000 elephants, 30,000 cavalry and 8,000 war chariots with which Chandragupta 'over-ran and subdued the whole of India'[2], was further augmented and better equipped, and it consisted not only of the recruits from the Prāchya (Prasii), Uttarāpatha, Avantīratha and Suvarṇagiri (Dakṣiṇāpatha) but also of the mercenaries from Syria and Bactria.[3]

The long expected war against Kaliñga took place in 261 B. C. eight years after the coronation of Aśoka.[4] The Maurya monarch personally led the vast Magadhan army which appears to have invaded Kaliñga from three

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1. According to Buddhist tradition recorded in the *Divyāvadāna* and the Ceylonese Chronicle (Geiger's *Mahāvaṁśa* p.28) the consecration was delayed by four years due to fratricidal war. Dr. Jayswal suggests "it seems that in those days for obtaining royal abhiṣeka the age of 25 was a condition precedent. This seems to explain why Aśoka was not crowned for 3 or 4 years after accession". (*J. B. O. R. S.* 9:7 p. 438.)
2. Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, lxii.
3. According to Tārānāth Aśoka subdued the South of the Vindhyas by the aid of an army of Yakṣa mercenaries. Vassilev connects the name Yakṣa with the Yuehchi and suggests that they were Bactrian Greeks. (*I. A.* IV, p 102 note).
4. *R. E.* XIII. Hultsh, *C. I. I.*, I. p. 66. See Appendix, A.

directions, North, West and South and Kaliñga offered a gallant defence against this imperial aggression.

The Buddhist literature which is so eloquent regarding Aśoka, remains completely silent about his Kaliñga war. Lāmā Tārānāth, only makes an indirect reference to it and remains satisfied by stating that Aśoka subdued the South of the Vindhyas by the aid of an army of Yakṣa mercenaries. Aśoka, himself describes the colossal nature of the war in his *R. E.* XIII, and although in his account he gives a vivid picture of the consequence and after-effects of the war he speaks nothing about the plans of the campaigns, the courses of the fight, the number of engagements, as well as, the fate of the Royal house of Kaliñga.

The horrors and miseries of the war, particularly the casualities suffered by the army and people of Kaliñga, have been presented as a painful reminiscence in the *R. E.* XIII. It reveals that in the war as many as 150,000 were taken captives, 100,000 were slain and as many as that number died of injuries and pestilence in the aftermath of the war.[1] This clearly indicates the formidable force of Kaliñga which was in readiness to oppose the Magadhan invasion with all its prowess and with what ever sacrifices demanded by the war. The *R. E.* XIII indicates that the war brought misery and disaster not only to those who took arms in it, but also to a large number of civil population including the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Sramaṇas*, other religious communities and the householders among whom were many Buddhist laities. Reflecting upon the bloody war and its after effects, Aśoka expresses his mind in this edict in the following words; "In conquering, indeed, an unconquered country, the slaying, death and deporting that occur there, are considered extremely painful and serious

1. See Appendix A.

by the *Devanaṁpriya*. Even more serious than this is that, those who live there whether the *Brāhmaṇs* or the *Sramaṇas* or other sects or house holders etc·····to them occurs injury or death or deportation of the beloved ones. And also to the people who are fortunate to have esc ped, and whose affection is undiminished (by the brutalising effect of war), occur the injury, as their friends, acquaintances companions and relatives also suffer from the same misfortune. This is shared by all men and is considered very deplorable by the *Devanaṁpriya*"[1]. He further declares, "even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died and who were deported at that time in Kaliñga, would now be considered very deplorable by *Devanaṁpriya*."[2] Obviously, Aśoka was deeply moved not so much by the political discomfiture of Kaliñga, but by her cultural disaster, and he was pained at heart not for the casualties of the fighting class, but for the suffering of the civil population. The account of this edict, being a literal record of history, presents an awful truth, which, appears like a tale of the epic. The havoc and bloodshed of the war brought about a great transformation in the mind of Aśoka, the results of which were far-reaching and significant.

Its efects

The Kaliñga war, thus brought about intense feelings of remorse in the mind of Aśoka and it was responsible in drawing his life towards Buddhism (Dhamma or Saddhamma).[3] He explicitly declares, "after that (Kaliñga war), with the recent acquisition of Kaliñga, there commenced in the mind of *Devanaṁpriya* ardent desire for the practice of

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1. See Appenix A, *R. E.* XIII.
2. *Ibid.*
3. That Aśoka calls Buddhism as Dhamma or Saddhamma, is knwon from his *Bhābru Edict.* Hultxch. *C. I. I.*, I pp. 127 f.

Dhamma, intense love for Dhamma and longing for inculcation of Dhamma."[1] This self-revealation clearly indicates that his conversion to Buddhism was the direct outcome of the Kaliñga war, and this fact can also be corroborated by other internal evidences of his edicts. The *R. E* VIII records that the *Piyadasi* emperor made a pilgrimage to *Saṁbodhi*,[2] (the place of Enlightenment of the Buddha) in the 10th year of his consecration. This indicates that Aśoka was already a Buddhist by the 10th year of his reign (counted from the date of his coronation). The *M. R. Edicts* which are considered to be the earliest of all the proclamations of Aśoka[3] and were published twelve years after his coronation,[4] contain almost the exact year of his conversion. It is known from these edicts that they were issued 'two and half years and somewhat more' after he had been a Buddhist *Upāsaka* and 'a year and somewhat more'

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1. See Appendix A, (*R. E.* XIII)
2. Hultzsch. *C. I. I.* I, p. 14,
3. The *Minor Rock Edicts* have been discovered at Sahasram (Sahabad District, Bihar) Rupnāth (Jubbulpore Dt. M. P.) Bairāt (Jaipur Dist. Rajasthan), Māski (Raichur Dt Andhra), Yerraguḍḍi (Karnul Dist. Andhra) and at Siddhapura, Yatiñga Rāmeśvara and Brahmagiri (Chitaldrug Dt. Mysore).

   The *M, R Edicts*, specially the *Rupnāth* and the *Sahasram Edicts* are considered the earliest of all the Aśokan inscriptions for two reasons.

   (a) They speak of inscripions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out and not as a *fait accompli* (Senart *I. A.* XX, p. 236),

   (b) These two as well as, the three Mysore records contain the first elements of Aśoka's Dhamma, which we find more fully developed in his Rock and Pillar edicts (Hultzsch *CII*, I pp. xliv).
4. दुवाडस वसाभिसितेत मे धम्मलिपि लिखापिता लाकस हित सुखाय ।

   P. E. VI (Rāmpurva Version)

after he had approached the *Saṁgha*.[1] This faithful calculation reveals that he embraced Buddhism about four years before the promulgation of the *Minor Rock Edicts* i. e. in the eighth year (expired) of his reign and as such immediately after the Kaliñga war.

Thus the immediate effect of the war on the life of Aśoka was his transformation from the life of *Chaṇḍāśoka* to that of *Dharmāśoka*.[2] From historical perspective, this personal transformation was, however, of a far greater significance. The fact that an emperor like Aśoka turned Buddhist after a colossal carnage involved in the Kaliñga war was a highly sensational event in the then India, and it proved to be of immense popular appeal for Buddhism itself. The common people naturally were instinctively attracted towards this religion and following the foot-steps of the emperor avowed themselves as *Upāsakas* and *Upāsikās*. Thus, Buddhism, which was an obscure and lingering creed confined to the middle Gangetic valley during the pre-Aśokan period, suddenly became, within about a decade of his conversion, a vigorous all-India religion. Not only that, it also over-flowed the borders of India and embraced the entire the-then known world from Greece to Burma and from the Himalayas to Ceylon. It may be pointed out that, behind this uncommon transformation of Buddhism from the status of an obscure creed to that of a world religion lies a historical force generated from the

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1. देवानंपिये हेवं आहा ।।
सातिरेकानि अढतियानि वसानि य मे अभिसितेन ।।
नोचु बाढि पकते ।।
सातिलेके चु छबछरे य मे हकं संघ उपेते ।

M. R. E. (Rupnāth Version)

2. चण्डासोक ति आयित्थ पुरे पापेन कम्मुना ।
धम्मासोको ति आयित्थ पच्छा पुञ्ञेन कम्मुना ।।

Mahāvaṁśa, v, 189.

sufferings and sacrifices of the people of Kaliñga. The Kaliñga war, thus greatly influenced the events in the history of India, as well as, of the world. In India, it ushered in an era of spiritual imperialism flavoured by love[1], in place of the traditional policy of militarism of Magadha that was saturated by blood, and the world shaken by terrible wars of Xerxes, Alexander, Mahāpadmananda and Chandragupta, got a new message, the message of peace, fraternity and non-violence.

Aśoka seems to have incorporated in his empire the coastal plain of Kaliñga with its long sea-board, but the wild uplands to the west, known as the Āṭavika territory was not annexed by him. That this territory was left unconquered and remained as an outlying region is known from the *S. R. Edict* II, where he speaks of the Āṭavikas as the 'unconquered frontagers'.[2] After the annexation of Kaliñga Aśoka could have occupied the Āṭavika land which was then probably the asylum of many national heroes of Kaliñga. But, the emperor eschewed the idea of conquering the land by violence, and conceived in its place the sublime ideal of conquering the hearts of the Āṭavikas by love. He explicitly tells those people, that, 'The king (Aśoka himself) desires that they should not have any anxiety because of him, they should be consoled by him, and they should obtain happiness and not sorrow from him"[3]. This is the beginning of his *Dhammavijaya* which was soon extended over other parts of the world with profound zeal and earnestness. The emperor, in fact, renoun-

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1. सवत्र पुन विजयो प्रितिरसो सो ।
2. अंतानं अविजितानं..... ।
3. एतका वा मे इच्छा अंतेसु पापुनेयु
लाजा हवं इच्छति अनिविगिन हेयू
ममियाये अखमेयु च मे सुखमेव च
लहेयू ममते नो दुख [।]



THE EMPIRE OF ASOKA C. 250 B C

ced war for good after a great victory and as such, stands unparalleled in the annals of history.

Administration of Kaliñga

After annexation, Kaliñga constituted the fifth province of the Maurya empire, the other four being Prāchya, Uttarāpatha, Avantīratha and Dakṣiṇāpatha.[1] Each of these provinces had almost uniform pattern of government and besides the political headquarters each had a second seat of administration for proper supervision of internal affairs. The province of Prāchya, which was the home province, was being ruled from Pāṭaliputra (*R.E.*V.) and its second administrative centre was located at Kausāmbi (*Kausāmbī P. E*). In Uttarāpatha and Avantīratha there were secondary administrative seats like Puṣkarāvatī in the former and Vidisā in the latter[2] in addition to the respective provincial capitals Takṣasilā (*S. R. E.* I) and Ujjayinī (*S. R. E.* I). The main headquarters of Dakṣināpatha was Suvarṇagiri (*M. R. E.* I.) whilc Isilā (*M. R. E.* I.) served as the second administrative centre.

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1. Prāchya, the same as Prasii of the Greek writers (Mc Crindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 65-67). For Uttarāpatha, see *Divyāvadāna*, p. 450. For Avantiratha, see *Mahīvaṁśa*, xii, and *Mahāvodhivaṁśa*, p. 98. Dakṣiṇāpatha, as a Maurya province does not find mention in inscriptions or literature. That the Maurya empire extended in the South upto the limits of the Tāmil territories is, known from the *R E*, XIII. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri takes this Southern territory as Dakṣiṇāpatha and regards it as a province in the Maurya empire (*P. H. A. I* p. 288). This assumption may be taken to be correct in analogy of Uttarāpatha, which was the name of another Maurya province.
2. Barua-*Aśoka & his Inscriptions*, p. 147.

The same system of administrative arrangement was put into operation in Kaliñga as well, and besides the capital city of Toṣālī (*S. R. E. I.*) the township of Samāpā (*S. R. E. II*) developed as a second seat of administration. But although the administrative organisation was more or less the same in all the five provinces, in Kaliñga the system had to be considerably modified due to political expediency and local needs. Other provinces had been included in the empire since the time of Chandragupta Maurya, and an well-organised system of administration was maintained in them in course of three generations. But in case of Kaliñga, which was newly conquered and where resentment against foreign domination was tacitly expressed, the imperial system required considerable change and the people demanded greater attention and more liberal treatment from the imperial court than other parts of the empire. Aśoka, who was conscious of this situation, seems to have placed at the beginning the administration of Kaliñga under his direct supervision in order to organise measures of healing and consolidation. But it was not considered expedient to run for a long time a personal administration in Kaliñga, side by side the home province of Prāchya, and as soon as peace and tranquility were restored the emperor appointed a Viceroy of blood royal in that province. Royal princes had also been appointed as Viceroys in other provinces and we find atleast two such princes stationed at Takṣasilā and Ujjayinī.[1] Evidently, the sons of Aśoka had already grown up sufficiently to be entrusted with administrative responsibilities in different provinces of the empire. It may be suggested that the two *Separate Rock Edicts* were engraved by the sides of the *Rock Edicts* at Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa, by the time the personal

1. *S. R. Edict* I. Appendix, B.

rule of the emperor gave place to Vice-regal administration in Kaliñga. The long and elaborate instructions imparted to the officials in these two special edicts, seem to be appropriate for the occasion of handing over of the administrative responsibilities. But like Takṣasilā and Ujjayinī, Aśoka could not remain contented simply by appointing a Kumāra Viceroy in Kaliñga. He appointed a body of Ministers for the Viceroy of Kaliñga, not only to advise and assist, but also to check and balance his administrative powers.[1] Thus, the Kumāra Viceroy of Kaliñga was not allowed to wield unfettered power like those of Takṣasilā and Ujjainī. The Viceroys of the latter places had the authority to send the Mahāmātras on triennial tours,[2] whereas the Viceroy of Kaliñga had no such power and the Mahāmātras were deputed for such tours by the emperor himself.[3] Evidently, the tradition of the personal rule of the emperor continued to some extent even after the Vice-regal administration in Kaliñga.

The instructions recorded by the emperor, for the officialdom of Kaliñga clearly indicate that he was eager to maintain a benevolent and well-ordered system of administration in that province. The emperor is found imbued with the idea of paternalism which is revealed with a touch of personal feeling in the following words :

"All men are my children. As I desire for my children that they all should enjoy bliss and happiness

1. *S. R. Edict* II—Dhauli version. The Kumāra Viceroy is addressed along with the body of Ministers.
2. *S. R. E.* I. Appendix, B.
3. *Ibid.*

in this world and in the other world, so also I desire for all my men.[1]

With such paternal spirit Aśoka imparts directive and advices for his officials in Kaliñga as follows—"In affairs of administration there might be persons who would suffer imprisonment or coercion. In that also might occur accidental death in prison and many might also heavily suffer for that. In that case, you must strive to deal with all of them impartially, the attributes which are not conducive to impartial dealings are malignity, irascibility, harshness, hastiness, lack of practice, indolence and weariness. You all must strive, so that these attributes may not be in you. At the root of all impartial dealings lie the absence of anger and avoidance of hurry... The judicial officer of the capital (*Nagara* i.e. Toṣālī) must strive at all times for this; and they should not inflict sudden imprisonment or sudden coercion on people. For this purpose I would be sending on quinquennial tours the Mahāmātras who would not be harsh and irascible and would be soft and gentle in dealings....."[2]

The instructions and the notes of caution betray the anxieties of the emperor for a better Government in Kaliñga, where both provincial and imperial officers vigorously worked for consolidation of the Maurya rule. Besides the Kumāra Viceroy and his ministers, judicial officers were stationed at the headquarters of Toṣālī, and although no such city judiciary was located at Samāpā, the latter became also the seat of

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1. सव मुनिसे पजा ममा ।]
अथा पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हित सुखेन हिदलोकिक पाललोकिकेन यूजेवूति तथा सव मुनिसेसु पि इछामि हकं [।]
S. R. E. I

2. *S. R. E.* I. Appendix, B.

a few ministers and a Rājavachanika[1], who was an executive officer for implementing the verbal directive of the emperor.

The Maurya administration was based on a well-organised bureaucracy and the officers who were appointed to help the emperor in the centre and the Viceroys in the provinces were of various categories and each of them had well-defined duties and responsibilities. The important officials were the Mahāmātras, the Rājukas, the Puliṣas, the Prādeśikas, the Yutas, the Āyuktas, the Vachabhumikas, the Prativedakas, the Lipikāras and the Dūtas. The Mahāmātras were the high ministers and were of various types like Antamahāmatras (*P. E.* I) Ithijakamahāmātras (*R. E.* XII), Dharmamahāmātras (R. E. V.) etc. Antamahāmātras were the ministers in the border provinces and the Mahāmātras of Toṣālī and Samāpā probably belonged to this category. The Ithijhaka mahāmātras were ministers in charge of welfare and upliftment of women and very likely this class of officers were recruited from the enlightened ladies of the empire. The Dharma mahāmātras created by Aśoka in the 13th year of his coronation were a very important class of ministers, who were widely employed to look after the spiritual and moral benefits of the people and to revise judicial punishments with clemency in suitable cases. The Rājukas (*R. E.* III) were in charge of welfare of the Janapadas and were endowed with absolute power in matters of reward and punishment to deserving people. In appointing this special class of officers Aśoka expresses his paternal feelings by referring to their responsibility as follows :- "As parents are relieved by leaving their children in custody of experienced nurses, being confident that the nurses would be able

1. *Separate Rock Edict* I – Dhaulī version.

to safeguard happiness of their children, in the like manner, I have appointed the Rājukas to take charge of the welfare and happiness of the Jānapadas."[1] The Rājukas were working under the active vigilence of the Puliṣas (*P. E.* I & IV) who were probably the same as Puruṣas or Guḍha-puruṣas of the *Arthaśāstra*,[2] and as such, were the imperial agents in the provinces. The Prādeśikas (*R.E.* III) were probably the same as the Pradeṣṭris of the *Arthaśāstra*[3] and they were entrusted with the work of collecting revenue and maintaining peace by tracking the thieves and administering justice. Thus, the prādesika (Pradeṣṭri) combined in himself revenue and judicial power to certain extent and in that case he was assisting the Samāhartṛ (the Chief Revenue Collector) on the one hand and the Rājuka on the other. The Yutas (*R. E.* III) were subordinate officers functioning under the Prādeśikas, and the Āyuktas (*S. R. E.* II) appear to be the village officers attached to the same Department. The Vachabhumikas (*R E.* XII) were in charge of cattle farming and pasture lands. The Prativedakas (*R. E.* VI) were an important class of officers who had full access to the emperor in all time and places in order to report the affairs of the people. They were probably the same as the Samcharās, mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*.[4] The Lipikāras (*M. R. E.* II) or the Scribes were also regarded as a

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1. अथाहि पजं बियताये धातिये निसिजितु
अस्वथे होति बियत धाति चघति
मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे हवं ममा लजुका कटा
जनपदस हित सुखाये।

P. E, IV, *C. I. I*, I., p. 122.

2. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 5.
Ibid. II, 6.
4. *Ibid*, I, 12.

class of officers who, obviously, were in charge of writing and maintaining records. The engraving of imperial edicts on rocks and pillars was one of their essential duties.

The Dūtas (*R. E.* XII) were the imperial envoys working in the neighbouring territories outside India and also in the lands of independent frontagers inside India. Aśoka was eager to carry on his policy of *Dharmavijaya*, or conquest by Piety, in the territories outside his own, through these emissaries. The *R. E.* XIII suggests that these officers were employed for cultural and religious missions in the lands of the frontier people and very probably an imperial envoy was also stationed in the territory of the Āṭavikas, who were regarded as '*Antā Avijitā*'.

Propagation of Dhamma

The Maurya system of administration, based on enlightened bureaucracy was systematically organised in Kaliñga. The revolting and unruly elements which seem to have persisted in the post-war period were gradually pacified through administrative measures and the imperial authority was strongly stabilised and enrooted. When peace returned under the authoritative Government Kaliñga witnessed the activities of the Buddhist missionaries who attempted to carry out the religious scheme of the Saṁgha. The Buddhist Saṁgha by that time was, however, not a unitary organisation and it was divided into not less than nineteen different schools. Of these, the principal ones were the Theravāda, Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsaṁghika and these three played important role in making India pre-eminently a land of Buddhism during the rule of Aśoka. Moggaliputta Tissa the *Āchārya* of the Theravādins, Upagupta that of the Sarvāstivādins and Mahādeva the leader of the Mahāsaṁghikas directed the missionaries to actively propagate their respective ideology through out India and it was mostly

due to the unremitting efforts of these people that Buddhism became popular from Kāśmira and Gāndhāra in the North-west to Kāmarūpa and Suvarṇabhūmī (Burma) in the East and to the island of Tāmbapaṁnī (Ceylon) in the South.[1] Well did Thera Mahinda, the son of Aśoka, reported to Devānaṁpiya Tissa, the king of Tāmbapaṁnī, that Jaṁbu, dīpa itself was then glittering with yellow robes.

Kaliṅga was the meeting place of the doctrines propagated by the protagonists of the three schools mentioned above. Āchārya Dhammarakkhita,[2] who propagated Thera-vāda in Vanavāsī, Aparānta, Mahāraṭṭha and Yonaloka, came to Kaliṅga to spend his last days in preaching the doctrine of the Theras. Aśoka's brother Tissa also selected Kaliṅga to be his place of retirement and the emperor built there for him a great monastery known as the Bhojakagiri Vihāra.[3] Tissa was originally a disciple of Dhammarakkhita, but later on he supported the Mahāsaṁghika school, more particularly the Ekavohārika sect of the Mahāsaṁgikas.[4] Āchārya Mahādeva, the propounder of the five Mahāsaṁghika doctrines, is also known to have visited Kaliṅga during his missionary tour to the Deccan. It is not known for certain whether Upagupta and Majjhantika, the two famous *Āchāryas* of the Sarvāsti-vādins, ever came to Kaliṅga or not; Upagupta had a strong foot-hold in the Mathurā region[5] and Majjhantika popularised the Sarvāstivāda doctrines in Kāśmira.[6] Dhitika kumāra, the

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1. N. K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p 22.
2. *Mahāvaṁśa*, xii pp 1-8 Dhammarakhita, Mahādhammarakhita, Rakhita and Mahārakhita are taken to be the one and the same *Ācharya*.
3. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. I. p. 585.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Tārānāth* p. 23.
6. See N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism etc.* pp. 16 f.

spiritual successor of both Upagupta and Majjhantika, vigorously propagated the Sarvāstivāda doctrine in Kāśmira, Tukhāra, Kāmarūpa, and Mālava and in course of his whirl-wind missionary tours he came to Kaliñga to popularise this school of Buddhism.[1] Dhitika's successor Kāla (Kṛṣṇa) carried on the missionary activities in the Deccan[2] and his disciple Poṣādha, who flourished during the rule of Vigatāśoka, made great effort to consolidate the hold of Sarvāstivāda in Kaliñga[3]. Thus, in the post-Aśokan period the Sarvāstivāda faith had upper-hand in Kaliñga and the Mahāsaṁghikas remained confined to South Kaliñga where they lingered on owing inspiration to the Āndhaka group of Buddhists at Śriśaila.[4]

Emperor Aśoka himself was not a sectarian follower and he looked upon Buddhism as Saddhamma and the Buddhist brotherhood as a single Saṁgha.[5] It was to discourage schism in the Saṁgha that he summoned the third Buddhist Council at Pāṭaliputra 236 years after *Parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha and 18 years after his own coronation (i. e. in 250 B. C.).[6] After the Council the famous *Schism Edicts*[7] were issued and Buddhist missionaries were sent to different parts of the sub-continent and to the

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1. *Tārānāth*, pp. 23-24. N, Dutt, *Ibid*, pp. 24.
2. *Tārānāth*, p. 47.
3. *Ibid*, p. 50.
4. See, Kimura, *J. D. L.*, I, pp. 16 f.
   N. Dutt, *Ibid*, pp. 16-19.
5. See in this connection the *Bhābru Edict* = Hultzsch, *C. I. I.* Vol. I. pp. 172 f and Senart *I. A.* Vol. XX, pp. 165 f.
6. *Dīpavaṁśa* vii, pp. 36-38.
7. *Schism Edicts* were inscribed at Kausāṁbī (Hultzsch *C. I. I.* Vol I. p. 159), Sāñchi (*Ibid* p. 160) and Sārnāth (*Ibid* p. 161).

neighbouring countries. The most famous mission was that of Mahinda, the son of Aśoka, to the island of Ceylon and Mahinda arrived at the island a month after the second coronation of its king Tissa in 250 B. C[1]. Later on Saṁghamittā, the wife of prince Agnibrahmā and the daughter of Aśoka.[2], sailed from Tāmralipti to Ceylon to ordain Anulā the chief queen of Tissa and to organise the order of nuns in that island. Emperor Aśoka sent on this occasion a sappling of the Bodhi tree to Ceylon in the custody of his daughter[3] and if the *Sāmanta Pasāḍikā* is to be believed the emperor sent as the retinue of the Bodhi tree eight families of Kaliñga[4] who settled in that island and formed the nucleus round which Theravāda Buddhism developed.

It was probably after the departure of Saṁghamittā, to whom he offered a heart-touching send off at the port of Tāmralipti, that Aśoka went on pilgrimage to Luṁbinī, the birth place of the Buddha, in the 20th year of his consecration. He caused a votive inscription[5] to be engraved on a stone pillar in that village to commemorate his visit and a true copy of that inscription engraved on a slab of stone was

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1. *Dīpavaṁśa*, xv.p. 171.
2. Agnibrahmā was the son of the sister of Aśoka, and he married Saṁghamittā the daughter of Aśoka; Saṁghamittā had a son named Sumana, who later on joined the Buddhist order.
3. In the cave monastery at Tun-huañg in the Gobi desert is found a fresco painting (of the 7th century A. D.) depicting the episode of Aśoka sending a branch of the Bodhi tree to Ceylon.
4. *Sāmanta Pasāḍikā*, *I*, p. 96.
5. Hultzsch, *C. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 164.

despatched to Kaliñga,[1] proclaiming the royal pilgrimage to Lumbinī,

Success and failure of Aśoka in Kaliñga.

The victory of Aśoka over Kaliñga, the powerful rival of Magadha, was no doubt a great military success. He could accomplish what his father and grandfather with all the resources and strength of the empire, failed to achieve. The policy of aggrandisement, which was the guiding political principle of Magadha since the days of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, attained its climax with the conquest and annexation of Kaliñga and the prestige of Magadha as an invincible imperial power became considerably heightened. Not only as a military conqueror, but also as a statesman and administrator, Aśoka proved a great success in Kaliñga. The fighting forces and the people of Kaliñga, who were intensely conscious of their political integriety and fought tooth and nail in defence of freedom, were pacified in no time and the newly conquered land was successfully consolidated. His statesmanship was fully revealed in his attitude towards the conquered and the afflicted people of Kaliñga and the bureaucratic organisation that was implemented in that territory testified to his political wisdom. It was by a careful admixture of human sympathy inspired by the ethics of Buddhism and administrative coercion required for political expediency that Aśoka could build an imperial edifice in Kaliñga which endured as long as the rule of the Mauryas could last.

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1. The copy of the *Rummindeī Pillar inscription* incised on a stone slab was found at Kapilprasād, a suburb of Bhubaneśwar. It is considered by some scholars as spurious one (*Pravāsī*, 1335. B. S. and *Select Inscriptions* p. 70 n. 1), probably because of diversity of the find spots of the same record. The Bhubaneśwar version is inscribed in the genuine Brāhmī letters of Aśoka's time and may be taken to be a duplicate of the *Rummindeī record*, (See *I. H. Q.* Vol. V. pp 723f).

This is no small achievement for Aśoka, but his real greatness lies not in his military ability and statesmanship but in his ideal of peace and zeal for promotion of the Law of Piety. His conversion to Buddhism as a result of the Kaliñga war not only purified and beautified his life, but also introduced the spirit of Buddhism into his administration and contributed towards the pacific foreign policy for which he is remembered and admired. His policy of *Dhamma* and *Dhammavijaya*, although generated from the carnage of a great war, heralded a regime of peace and brotherhood of humanity and accelerated the progress of religion and culture. "If a man's fame can be measured", remarks Koppen, "by the number of hearts who revere his memory, by the number of lips who have mentioned and still mention him with honour, Aśoka is more famous than Charlemagne and Caesar"[1]. These two great personalities may be compared with Aśoka in terms of valour and statesmanship, but the Maurya monarch excells both of them in his spiritual and moral endeavour, and in this respect he stands unique in the history of the world.

The success of Aśoka was mostly due to Kaliñga war and Kaliñga. The war revealed his military genius and Kaliñga proved his administrative sagacity. The Kaliñga war, again, was responsible for his conversion and Kaliñga inspired him in his policy of *Dhammavijaya* for which he is considered great. But it may also be said that it was Kaliñga which testified to his failure to a considerable extent. No doubt, the idea of *Dhammavijaya* came out of his sincere reflection over the catastrophe and tragedy of the Kaliñga war, but this war itself is a striking example of his *Asuravijaya*. Aśoka was greatly pained at heart and shed a pool of tears over the discomfiture of Kaliñga, but notwith standing his deep remorse

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1. Encyclopaedia Brittanica II, p. 546

he never thought of her rendition and violently robbed the royal dynasty of its territorial possession. Aśoka, however, speaks of this victory as *Sarasaka* (Śarāsaka or Śāyaka) *vijaya*[1]. which, although signifies conquest by arms, presents a milder connotation than what is revealed by the term *Āsura vijaya*. Whatever it might be, the conquest and annexation of Kaliñga into the Maurya empire reveal that he was too much of an imperialist to think of restoration of freedom of the conquered territory.

Inspite of his glorious policy of peace the emperor could not possibly become an unqualified pacifist. In his *R. E.* XIII he declares, "Should any one does harm that may be pardoned by the 'Beloved of the gods', as far as it can possibly be pardoned. To those Aṭavi people, who are residing in the empire of the 'Beloved of the gods', he appeals and warns, that the 'Beloved of the gods' has power even in his remorse, and he tells them to desist from doing harm, as otherwise they would be killed."[2] The same note of caution and warning is also expressed in the *S. R.E.* II. Thus, Aśoka while endeavouring for peace and consolidation was not forgetful of chastising people for political expediency. In course of his advice to his officials in Kaliñga, he states that there might be people who would be arrested and coerced and might either die or suffer long in the prison. This reads like a justification of his warning to the people in the *R E.* XIII and the *S. R. E.* II.

The Aśokan system of administration in Kaliñga was obviously directed towards coercing the people to submission

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1. *R. E.* XIII.
2. योपि च अपकरेयति खमितवियमते व देवनं प्रियस यं शको खमनये, यपि च अटवि देवनं प्रियस विजिते भोति तपि अनुनेति अनुनिझपेति। अनुतपेपि च प्रभवे देवनं प्रियस वुचति तेष किचि अवत्रपेयु नच हंञेयसु। (See Appendix A)

on the one hand, and on the other towards reconciling them to the imperialism of Magadha through paternalism and administrative reforms. The *S R. Edicts* clearly indicate that a system of double Government, both by the Provincial viceroy and his ministers, as well as, by the emperor and the central Secretariat, was imposed on Kaliñga, and while reformative and human measures were undertaken by the latter, the former were vigorously operating the work of consolidation. The effect of such an administration proved detrimental to the national character of Kaliñga and she was calmed down to obscurity for a long time thereafter. The political set-back continued till the first century B.C. when the Chedis appeared and infused a new sense of vigour and patriotism among people.

It appears that Aśoka advocated in his proclamations in Kaliñga the principles of *Rājadharma*, rather than those of the Buddhist *Upāsaka dharma*, because he was more eager for maintenance of political peace in that territory. The *R. Es.* XI and XII wherein he declares his principles of inculcation of Dhamma and those of religious toleration respectively, were not considered essential to be engraved either at Dhaulī or at Jaugaḍa, where as, the *S. R. Ed cts* I and II advocating the principles of *Daṇḍaniti* and measures of administrative reforms, found prominent place in these two places. Moreover, the *R.E.* XIII was not allowed to be engraved anywhere in Kaliñga, obviously with the view that the account of the inhuman war should not be presented to her people to remind them of their suffering and loss sustained in it. It was clearly a matter of political expediency and not a result of his sense of shame and remorse as Bhandarkar wants to make us believe.[1]

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1. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*. (3rd edition), 1955—p. 22.

Aśoka was, no doubt, eager for religious toleration both in Kaliñga, as well as, in other parts of his empire. His *R. E.* XII clearly reveals his tolerant attitude towards all religions. In Magadha, he dedicated cave dwellings in the Barābar hills to the honour of the Ājivaka monks, and in *R. E.* VIII he glorifies *Dharmayātrā* that leads to bestowing gifts to *Brāhmaṇas*, *Sramaṇas* and *Theras* ali e. In Kaliñga, he expresses his deep sorrow for the disaster that befell the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Sramaṇas* and other religious denominations in course of the Kaliñga war. But although Aśoka was showing respect and taking care for all religious communities he seems to have failed to fulfil the real religious need of the people of Kaliñga. It remains inexplicable as to why he could not restore Kāliñga Jina which had been taken away by Mahāpadmananda to Magadha. Kaliñga had to wait till the time of Khāravela, who subdued Magadha in the Ist century B. C. and brought back the Kāliñga Jina as vindication of religious sentiment and dignity of Kaliñga.

It will not be far from truth to point out that as the Kaliñga war and the Magadhan imperialism proved ruinous to Kaliñga, so also the War, which led to the transformation of Aśoka and his policies, paved the way for the collapse of that imperialism. The reverberation of Dhamma in place of the reverberation of the war-drums proved fatal for the structure that was based on the foundation of militarism. Not being content with his own pacific policy, he further left instructions for his successors to eschew wars and conquests. No wonder that the imperial edifice reared up by kings like Ajātaśatru, Mahāpadmananda, and Chandraguptamaurya, declined and collapsed within less than half a century after the demise of the Piyadasi emperor.

Successors of Aśoka,

The Buddhist tradition, recorded in the *Divyāvadāna*[1], as well as, in the *Sūtrālaṁakāra*[2] attributed to the famous Aśvaghoṣa, reveals that Aśoka during the later part of his life was showing over-enthusiasm towards patronising Buddhism, which led to the depletion of the imperial treasury. Subsequently, the heir apparent Saṁprati, at the instance of the minister Rādhāgupta, restrained the emperor from extravagant donations to the Buddhist monks and Saṁgha. His allowance was increasingly cut down until at last he received half-an-*āmalaka*. The tradition that the Lord of Jaṁbudipa was reduced to the position of the Lord of half-an-*āmalaka*, must be taken as an utter exaggeration. But the fact that Aśoka considerably lost his sovereign authority which gradually passed over to the heir-apparent Saṁpadi (Saṁprati) may not be wholly unhistorical.[3]

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1. *Divyāvadāna*, (Edited by Cowell & Neil), pp. 429-34.
2. See Jean Przyluski—La Legende de l' Empereur *Asoka;* and Edouard Huber, *B. E. F. E. O.*, IV. pp. 709-26.
3. अथ राजाशोकः साश्रुदुर्दिन नयन बदनोऽमात्यान् उवाच, दाक्षिण्याद् अनृतं हि किं कथयथ भ्रष्टाधिराज्यः वयं शेषं त्वांमलकार्द्धमित्यवसितं यत्र प्रभुत्वं मम। (*Divyāvadāna*, P. 431).

"Alors le roi prononca ces stances —Vous dites que j'exerce la royauté, et que mes ordres sont exécutés. C'est pour me flatter que vous parlez ainsi. Ce que vous dites n'est que mensonge. Mon autorité est mort, je ne dispose plus de rien" (*B. E. F. E. O.* IV. p. 723)

"Le roi dit, "Vous êtes dans l'erreur quand vous dites que je suis le maitre. Je ne suis pas le maitre." (Przyluski, La Légende de l' Empereur Asoka, p. 298).

You all are telling a lie to please me that I am the established king. But I have nothing which I can call mine own" (*Tripiṭaka, ii,, Saṁyukta Āgama* - new Tokyo ed. Ch. 25, p. 180 b).
(Courtesy, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal).

Piyadasi Aśoka, breathed his last in 232 B. C. after a long reign of forty years. He was succeeded by his son Kunāla, who being blind, his son Saṁpadi (Saṁprati) carried on the work of Government as regent.[1] Kunāla's rule lasted only about eight years, after which Daśaratha, being probably his eldest son, ascended the throne. Daśaratha, is known to be the ruler of Magadha not only from the inscriptions in the Nāgārjuni hill,[2] but also from the accounts of the *Matsya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*.[3]

According to the Purānic tradition Daśaratha was succeeded by Saṁprati, who is regarded by the Jainas and the Buddhists as the immediate successor of Aśoka.[4] It is not definitely known why Kunāla and Daśaratha have been passed over by the Jaina and Buddhist writers. Very probably Kunāla being blind and Daśaratha being a saintly person, Saṁprati continued as a real administrator during their rule.

After Daśaratha, Saṁprati became the paramount lord of the empire and carried out a benevolent system of administration. He had already earned administrative experience as regent during the last days of Aśoka and probably also during the rule of Kunāla and Daśaratha. A Jaina by faith, he earnestly patronised Jainism through out his empire and as such, the Jaina texts have highly extolled him as the famous king of Jaṁbudīpa. Jinaprabhasuri in *Pāṭaliputra*

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1. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.* 1950, p. 351.
2. *I. A.* XX, p. 364
3. Pargiter, *D. K. A.*, pp. 28-29, Daśaratha is known as Vandhupālita in the Vāyu Purāṇa.
4. *Pāṭaliputra Kalpa* of Jinaprabhasuri, and *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, ix, 51-53; Also *Divyāvadāna*, p. 433.

Kalpa declares that Saṁprati, the son of Kunāla, was a great king who ruled from Pāṭaliputra, the whole of India with its three divisions (Trikhaṇḍaṁ) and constructed various shrines for the Jinas[1]. It appears that the Maurya empire was intact under Saṁprati, both during his regency, as well as, during the period of his sovereignty.[2]

Saṁprati was succeeded by Vigatāśoka, who was probably the third son of Kunāla[3] and Tārānāth testifies to the fact that Kaliṅga was in the Maurya empire during his rule. It was during the time of Vigatāśoka that Achārya Poṣāḍha spent his life in preaching and consolidating the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism in Kaliṅga.[4] The next king Śāliśuka is represented as a wicked and unrighteous monarch by the tradition preserved in the *Yuga Purāṇa*. The text of this *Purāṇa* reads: "In that delightful city of Puṣpapura teeming with hundreds of people, Ṛbhukṣā (Indra) would be born as Śāliśuka, out of his Karma. The king who was the product of his past action was a wicked soul in a lovely body. An unrighteous man, though theorising on righteous-

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1. त्रिखण्डं भारत क्षेत्रं जिनायतन मण्डितं, *Pāṭaliputra Kalpa*—
   See also *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, x, pp. 65 ;
   and *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. i, pp. 6-15.
2. V. Smith is of opinion that the empire of Aśoka was divided between his two grand sons—Daśaratha and Saṁprati, the former being the Lord of Eastern and the latter of Western dominions (*Aśoka*, 3rd. ed.-p 70). But the Jaina accounts about Saṁparti ruling over India both from Pātaliputra (*Pāṭaliputra Kalpa*) and Ujjaynī (*Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, xi, 23) make the hypothesis of Dr. Smith untenable.
3. *I. A.* 1875, p. 362
4. Tārānāth, *Geschichte*, p. 50.

ness, he terribly oppressed his own territory"[1] According to *Vāyu Purāṇa* Śāliśuka ruled for 13 years and the *Yuga Purāṇa* tradition holds that because of his oppressive rule he was compelled to abdicate the throne in favour of his elder brother Vijaya, who was a righteous monarch.[2] It was during the rule of Vijaya that the viciously valiant Yavanas (Greeks) invaded India and after reducing Sāketa, Pañchāla and Mathurā reached as far as Pāṭaliputra.[3] The Maurya empire was thus plunged into disorder and its very foundation was shaken.

The Suñgas.

Subsequently in 194 B.C. Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya monarch ascended the throne of Pāṭaliputra and disintegrating forces which operated since the time of Śāliśuka and Vijaya became prominent during his rule. The court of Pāṭaliputra, became a hot-bed of conspiracy by ambitious

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1. तस्मिन् पुष्पपुरे रम्य जन सज सत काले ।
ऋभुद्वा (Kern - ऋतुद्वा) कर्मसुतः शालिशुकोभविष्यति ॥
स राजा कर्मसुतो दुष्टात्मा प्रियविग्रहः ।
स्वराष्ट्र मर्दते घोर धर्मवादो अधार्मिकः ॥

   For Dr. B. M. Barua's amendment of the above reading, see *Asoka and his Inscriptions* pp. 350-51.

   See Kern's Introduction to his edition of *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* p. 37

   The *Yuga Purāṇa* was first brought to light in 1865 by H. Kern, who gave a translation of a portion of it in the introduction of the *Bṛhatsaṁhita*, edited by him. But the manuscript used by Kern has now been lost. Dr. Jayaswal discovered two other manuscripts of the *Yuga Purāṇa*, one in the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the other in the Govt. Sanskrit College of Benaras and he edited the work with a translation. A third manuscript was discovered in Paris by Sylvain Levi, and a discussion on the variation of this manuscript from those discovered by Jayaswal has been published in *J. B. O. R. S.* XV, 1929, p. 129.
2. Kern, *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

officials and Puṣyamitra Suñga, the Commander-in-Chief murdered the monarch in 185 B.C. in the open parade ground. Thus the line of Chandragupta had an inglorious end and the empire passed to the hands of Puṣyamitra, who established a new dynasty named 'Suñga' in Magadha.

At the time of transfer of sovereignty from the Mauryas to the Suñgas the territory of Vidarbha declared independence under one Yajñasena.[1] But soon after, it was reconquered by the Suñga monarch. It is not known whether any such movement for shaking off the yoke of Magadha started in Kaliñga or not, and in view of complete absence of epigraphic and literary data for knowing the events of this period in Kaliñga, nothing definite can be said about her status. To all probability this territory passed from the Maurya domination to that of the Suñgas in course of the change of sovereign authority.

Puṣyamitra Suñga ruled for a period of thirty-six years and was succeeded by his son Agnimitra, who had a brief rule of only eight years.[2] During the reign of these two monarchs the newly founded Suñga empire was consolidated on sound footing and not only that the internal revolts were quelled but also the invasions of the Yavanas was successfully hurled back. The performance of two horse sacrifices by Puṣyamitra[3] indicates the strength and solidarity of the empire which could sustain for about a century, even though the Suñga rulers, after Agnimitra, were not of out standing calibre.

The *Purāṇas* represent the later Suñga monarchs as *rois faineants* whose authority was usurped by the ministers,

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1. Kālidās's *Mālavikāgnimitram*. See also *P. H. A. I.* 1950. pp. 372-73.
2. *D. K. Age* – p. 31.
3. *Ayodhyā Inscription* of Dhanadeva. *E. I.* XX, p. 57.

the Kāṇvāyana Brāhmaṇas. The Kāṇva rulers were, in fact, the ministers of the later Suñgas and they have been described by the *Purāṇas* as Suñgabhṛtyas. The chronology of the Kāṇvas presents a controversy, which arises owing to the confounding nature of the Purānic account. According to *Purāṇas* the Mauryas ruled for a period of 137 years, after which the Suñgas enjoyed the earth for 112 years and the Kāṇvas for 45 years, and then came Simuka, who killed the last Kāṇva king Suśarman and put an end to the remnant of the Suñga power. This indicates that the Suñgas and the Kāṇvas were continuing simultaneously and the period of 112 years assigned to the Suñga rule includes 45 years of the Kāṇvas. R. G. Bhandarkar[1] after analysing the Purānic tradition remarks, "The founder of the Āndhrabhṛtyas is said to have uprooted not only the Kāṇvas, but whatever was left of the power of the Suñgas and the Kāṇvas were pointedly spoken of as Suñgabhṛtyas or servants of the Suñgas. It, therefore, appears likely, that when the princes of the Suñga family became weak, the Kāṇvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters, but reducing them to the characters of nominal sovereigns. Thus, then, these dynasties reigned contemporaneously and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Suñgas include the 45 assigned to the Kāṇvas."[2]

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1. *Early History of the Deccan*, pp 24-25.
2. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri is however not prepared to accept this view and is inclined to take the rule of the Suñga kings as distinct from the rule of the kāṇvas. Uncritical reliance cannot however be placed on the accounts of the *Purāṇas*, which give contradictory statements regarding the rule of these dynasties. If the Kāṇva rule would be regarded as distinct from the Suñga rule. Simuka's annihilation of the Suñga and the Kāṇva powers simultaneously cannot satisfactorily be explained. It appears, that, the murder of Suñga Devabhūmi (Debabhuti) and of Kāṇva Suśarman were not isolated episodes but the results of the same intrigue which brought Simuka to power.

Accordingly Simuka rose to power in 73 B. C.[1] (185 B. C.—112 years) after subduing the Suñga and the Kāṇva supremacy. The year 73 B. C. need not, however, be taken as the beginning of the rule of Simuka, as he must have ruled for sometimes over the Nāsik region as a feudatory of the Suñga-Kāṇva power before his *caup de main.*

Almost synchroneous with this change another revolutionary movement appears to have taken place in Kaliñga giving rise to the Chedi-Meghavāhana dynasty which restored her independence and ushered her into a new political career. The rise of the Sātavāhanas in the West and of the Meghavāhanas in the East were occasioned by the decline of the Suñga-Kāṇva power of Magadha and both these movements may be taken to be almost simultaneous events in history.

Since the passing away of Aśoka, Kaliñga entered into a period of political chaos and obscurity and the Western and North-western India became more important in history than the Eastern and South-eastern parts. Places like Ujjayinī and Vidisā in Western India and Takṣasilā, Kapiśā and Sāgala in North- western India assumed more political importance than Toṣālī and Samāpā in the East. The Suñga rule was a period when a circle of regional states developed in different parts

1. This view finds support from epigraphic evidences. 'Sātakarṇi I, the son of Simuka was contemporary of Khāravela, who flourished 300 years after Mahāpadmananda. If 45 years of the Kāṇvas be distinctly treated, the date of Simuka comes to 28 B. C. and in that case Sātakarṇi cannot become a contemporary of Khāravela. For further discussion, see *infra*, Chapter VI

of India giving rise to intensive cultural movement through art and religion. Brāhmanism with its new ally Bhāgavatism vigorously thrived in Magadha and Mālava and Buddhism greatly developed in Mathurā, Sāgala and Takṣasilā regions while places like Bharhut, Sāñchi, Bodhgayā and Amarāvatī became glorious centres of Buddhist art. Kaliñga, however, did not lag behind in cultural activities and the Toṣālī region being important stronghold of Buddhism in the East witnessed great artistic and cultural development. We present below a short discussion on Art in Kaliñga during the Maurya and Suñga rule as concluding part of the present chapter.

Maurya and Suñga Art in Kaliñga.

Side by side with the religious activities of the Buddhists, there developed in Kaliñga a new school of Buddhist art patronised by the Maurya court.[1] The pre-Aśokan art in India was usually being expressed through perishable medium and the artist was mostly handling a tradition in wood.[2] The excavation at Śiśupālgarh brought to light wooden remains at Mauryan level,[3] indicating that like other parts of India the wood tradition was dominating the art activities in pre-Aśokan Kaliñga. The sudden out-burst of a stone technique and the large scale production of plastic art in stone during Aśoka, has led the art historians to believe that the Aśokan art was mostly the product of the Persian

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1. For detailed discussion see N. K. Sahu, *Buddhism* in *Orissa*, pp. 28-34.
2. In *Artha Sāstra*, II. 36, we find references to extensive use of wood for the buildings of cities. But in the *Minor Rock Inscriptians* Aśoka declares that Edicts are to be inscribed on rocks and pillars and on stone pillars where ever found. This indicates that some stone pillars existed befor the reign of Aśoka.
3. *A. I.* no. 8 p. 28.

craftsmen of the Achaemenid tradition. It is undoubtedly correct so far as the Achaemenian forms and motifs, as well as, Hellenistic motifs and designs are traceable in the Maurya court art. But in Kaliñga particularly such Perso-Hellenic influence is conspicuous by its absence and the nature and technique of art warrant the conclusion that the Maurya emperor only invigorated the indigenous school of art in that newly conquered territory.

The most important specimen of the Aśokan art in Kaliñga is the elephant figure in the Dhaulī hill which contains a set of the *Rock Edicts*. The elephant is found emerging out of the rock with dignified gait slighty tilting the right front leg and keeping the left hind leg straight in short angle. It is 4 ft. in height and its plasticity suggests warm flesh and forward movement. The figure indicates an indigenous spirit of art and lacks in lustrous polish which usually marks the Aśokan sculptures and monuments. Even if one argues that the coarse variety of stone, out of which it is carved, is not amenable to such polish, the evidence of indigenous art tradition is unmistakable in its linear rythm and quiet composition. The figure reveals a superior artistic conception compared to other Aśokan elephants either at Kālsi or at Sañkissa. The Sārnāth lion figures symbolising imperial pomp and power are a remarkable contrast to the calm dignity and sobriety of the Dhaulī elephant.

The art tradition of the Dhaulī elephant is revealed by the Rāmpurvā bull and although some scholars[1] extend this

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1. Coomarswamy, *History of Ind. and Indonesian Arts*, p. 17.

traditian to the Parkhām Yakṣa, Besnagar Yakṣī, Didargañj Chauri bearer and Lohanpur Jaina figures, the Dhaulī and the Rāmpurvā specimens remain at a higher level of aesthetic attainment.

Close to the Dhaulī elephant there exists a flat terrace of the hill on the surface of which Baglar[1] and R. L. Mitra[2] could trace remains of some structural monuments. Nothing, however, is found at present excepting the holes in the rock indicating the foundations of supporting pillars.

The presence of an Aśokan pillar in modern Bhubaneśwar has long since become a matter of delightful speculation. As early as 1880 R. L. Mitra[3] declared that the unusually large *liñgaṁ* enshrined in the Bhāskareśwara temple might have been the remnant of an Aśokan pillar. In 1946 B. M. Barua[4] confirmed the supposition of Mitra observing that "the stump of Aśoka's monolith which is being worshipped as a phallic emblem in the Bhāskareśwara temple may still bear a copy of M. P. E." In 1951 K. C, Panigrahi[5] claimed to have proved on archaeological basis the fact which was only in assumption of scholars like Mitra and Barua. He associated the *liñgaṁ* with the bell capital then lying inside an old tank named Aśoka-jhara, as well as, with a colossal lion figure traced by him close to the Bhāskareśwara temple. Thus, with the column, bell capital and the crowning animal figure, the fullfledged Aśokan *lāṭ* was brought into picture

1. *A. S. I.* XIII, p. 96.
2. *Antiquities of Osissa,* II, p. 47.
3. *Ibid,* p. 98.
4. *Aśoka and his Inscriptions,* part ii, p. 3.
5. *J. A. S.,* xvii, pp. 95 f.

and to make it more conclusive he declared to have found on the *liñgaṁ* congnizable traces of Aśokan Brāhmī letters.[1]

Among scholars who refute the idea of the *liñgaṁ* being the stump of an Aśokan pillar, mention may be made of M. M. Ganguli[2] and N. K. Bose.[3] Ganguli is not prepared to accept the fact without cogent reasons and Bose finds no Aśokan characteristic particularly the Mauryan polish on the *liñgaṁ*.

The *liñgaṁ* in question is 9 ft. in height and 12 ft. 5 ins. in circumference at the base. It bears heavy chisel-marks all over the body upto a height, above which the top has been hewn out in large fragments giving it a tapering shape. Because of heavy chiselling from top to bottom it is futile to search for the traces of Mauryan polish or of Aśokan Brāhmī letters over the *liñgaṁ*. The bell capital[4], mentioned above, is 4 ft. 5 ins. in height and 19 ft. in circumference at its widest part. It has a socket in the underside for insertion of the shaft and the diameter of the socket at the bottom is nearly 3ft. 8 ins. The height of the shaft that accommodated this huge bell capital might have been between 44 ft. and 52 ft. calculated on the analogy of the proportions found in the Āśokan bell capital at Bakhirā[5] and in the Heliodors

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 324.
3. *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XV, pp. 259 ff.
4. It is now lodged in the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneśwar.
5. The height of the bell capital of Aśoka at Bakhirā is 2 ft. 10 ins. while the base and shaft are together nearly 38 ft. high (V. Smith: *Asoka* pp. 117-18). The height of the column in question would accordingly be about 52ft.

bell capital at Vidisā[1]. It is because of this that N. K. Bose[2] rejects the possibility of structural association between the shaft of Bhāskareśwara and the bell capital of Aśoka jhara. He observes. "the present base of the column is 3 ft. 11 ins, in diameter. The taper is $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in 5 ft;[3] the column should, therefore, have been 15 ft. above the present base in order to fit into the hole in the bell capital with the diameter of 3 ft. 3.8 ins. A bell capital of 4 ft. in height, and perhaps mounted with an animal figure of similar height resting upon a column only 15 ft. long would be absurd,"[4] Bose further argues that this column is totally unconnected with the bell capital in consideration of the petrological character of the two specimens; "the column is made of fine sand stone," he remarks, "while the capital seems to be made of sand stone of a coarser variety."[5] Panigrahi, on the other hand, asserts that the *liñgaṁ*, the bell capital and the alleged Aśokan lion discovered by him, are all made of the same type of stone.[6] Our personal examination has, however, yielded a different result, and we are of opinion that the sand stone of the *liñgaṁ* and the lion is of fine variety belonging probably to the same stuff, while the bell capital is of a different type of sand stone-a coarse grained stuff.

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1. The height of the bell capital of Heliodoros is 1ft. 5 ins. while the base and shaft together are 15 ft. 7 ins. high if the present column was modelled in the same proportion the height of the base and shaft would be about 44 ft.
2. *J.B.O.R.S.* XV p, 261.
3. The taper is calculated as follows—
   The *liñgaṁ* is 3 ft. 11 ins. in diameter just above the *Gaurīpaṭṭa* and 3 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. at a height of about 5 ft. above that level, hence, the taper of the column is 2 ft. in 5 ins. *Ibid*, p, 259
4. *Ibid* p. 261.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *J. A. S.* XVII, No. 2. p. 100.

In 1959 Mrs. D. Mitra,[1] the Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, made a trial excavation to expose the base of the Bhaskareśwar *liñgaṁ*, and it was found that the *liñgaṁ* rested merely on the plinth of the temple. This at once dismissed the supposition that it is a free standing pillar existing on the spot much prior to the temple of Bhaskareśwara. The following conclusion of Mrs. Mitra in her short report about trial digging of the floor of the temple, merits more than a passing reference.

"From the foregoing observations, it is abundantly clear that the pillar has no foundation at all and directly rests on the laterite pedestal deliberately carved in the shape of an *arghyapaṭṭa*. This can only mean that whoever installed the pillar in its present position conceived it as a *liñga* from the beginning. In other words, the temple was not erected to enshrine an already standing pillar or *liñga*. Further the pillar, with a broken top, was evidently brought from elsewhere, near or far. The present operation did not give any clue to the origin of the pillar, not to speak of the place of its initial installation."[2]

Setting the question of the Aśokan pillar at rest, it may be pointed out that the alleged Aśokan lion[3] is anything but Aśokan in style and execution. The plastic treatment of its form and volume imparts to it a static quality which together with its quaint expression make it a rather clumsy specimen. Its artistic conception is decidedly cruder than the Basārh-Bakhirā lion of Aśoka, which itself is considered to

1. *J. A. S. B.* Vol. I, 1959, pp. 1-2.
2. *Ibid*, p. 2
3. Now lodged in the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneśwar.

be somewhat crude in execution. Such a figure cannot, therefore, be regarded as a specimen of the school which produced the Dahulī elephant and the Rāmpurvā bull. The time of the Bhubaneśwar lion is, however, not difficult to determine as the figure bears on it a small inscription in the characters ascribable to the 4th century A. D. and there can be no reasonable doubt in assigning the figure to the same century.

The bell capital is stylistically later than the Aśokan bell. It bears neither the Mauryan polish nor the Aśokan motifs like honey-suckle and palmette and unlike the Aśokan bell capital it possesses a frieze of sculptures just below the socalled bell. The frieze, no doubt, contains some familiar Aśokan figures like the goose and the full blown lotus, but other figures like winged elephant, winged tiger, and galloping winged horse are quite unknown to Aśokan artists. Figures of some winged animals appear in the Rāṇīgumphā of the Udayagiri, while pillasters having inverted lotus as capital are found in the Anantagumphā of the Khaṇḍagiri. The artistic carvings of both Rāṇīgumphā and the Anantagumphā may be placed about the first century before Christ when Khāravela and his successors were flourishing in Kaliñga. The pillar in question exhibits some attributes of Aśokan art, while its inspiration may be traced in the art-motifs of the period of Khāravela in Kaliñga. Tentatively, therefore, this bell capital may be assigned to the period of the Suñga rule when erection of pillars with such capitals was not uncommon in India.

The post Aśokan period is remarkable for architectural activity in India and a number of *stūpas* and *chaityas* were constructed during that time at places like Bharhut, Sāñchi, Bodh-gayā, Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeṭa etc. There is strong evidence of a *stūpa* being erected during this period at Bhubaneśwar although like the *stūpas* of Amarāvatī and Jaggayya-

peṭa it has now vanished leaving behind a few traces of it. The remains of the *stūpa* consist only of four pieces of railing posts, three of which are preserved in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta[1], and the fourth one in the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneśwar.[2] Like the railing posts of other *stūpas* mentioned above, these posts have four sides of which the broader two have lenticular sockets to receive the cross bars *(sūchi)* from both sides, and the other two have each a decorative male or female figure. The female figures convey feelings of roundness and soft flesh, and bestowed with individuality of grace and veracity, they mark a decided advance on the art technique of Bharhut. About the male figures N. K. Bose observes[3] "The heads of the human figures are turbanned, with occasionally a knot done some what in the fashion of Bharhut. The nature of the turbans, the gloved hands, the high boots and the short clothing suggest, however, that the figures should be equated with similar figures in the Rāṇī-

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1. The following is the account of the discovery of these three railing pieces.

   Prof. R. K. Mookerjee first discovered in 1926 the corner post of a railing, a few yards to the North of the Bhāskareśwara temple. In June 1938, Prof. N.K. Bose explored that area under the auspices of the Orissa Historical Association and 'fortunately dug up what seems to be the rest of the first piece of railing post at a spot, which was about twenty yards away from the place where the first had been found.' Mr. D. N. Basak could discover the same year the third piece of railing post that was buried under the soil in the same site.

2. Dr. K. C. Psnigrahi discovered this piece in 1950 from the same site, about 375 ft. to the north of the northern door of the Bhāskareśwara temple.

3. *J.B.O.R.S.* XV p. 262.

gumphā at Udayagiri. The modelling is more in the round, the folded hands do not lie flat upon the breast, but are pointed forward. It is possible, therefore, that this sculpture is posterior to Bharhut." The available evidences thus lead us to suggest that the railing fence of the *stūpa* belonged to the Suñga period.

Other remains of the period are the four *yakṣa* images at present lodged in the Orissa Museum, two of which were found at the village Dumduma near Khaṇḍagiri and the other two at the village Baḍagaḍa near Śiśupālgarh. The Dumduma *yakṣas* are 5 ft. 7 ins. in height and the Baḍagaḍa ones measure about 4 ft. and while the former have sockets on the head, the latter have below the arms indicating that they were originally the structural parts of some monuments. Speaking of these images Panigrahi remarks[1] "their frontal pose, the bulged out bellies, bent knees, broad torques, heavy ear ornaments, bracelets numbering more than one in each hand, and the folds of their dhotis hanging down between their legs are so strikingly similar to those of the *yakṣas* forming the capitals of the pillars that support the architraves in the gate-way of Sāñchi, that it is perfectly reasonable to infer that they were close contemporaries and that there was also close cultural contact between Sāñchi and Bhubaneśwara." Two other *yakṣa* figures of Dumduma type are found near Baḍagaḍa and another of the same type at Pañchagaon to the west of Bhubaneśwar, and all these have also sockets on their heads for insertion of structural parts. It is difficult to say whether these *yakṣas* were connected with the *stūpa* mentioned above or not; it has, however, been suggested that they were probably intended for carrying the architraves of the gateways.[2]

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1. *J. A. S.* XVII pp. 104-05.
2. See '*Buddhism in Orissa*' p. 34.

Lastly, a few words may be said about pottery and coins of the period found in Kaliñga. There is a great variety of pottery associated with the Mauryan time and many of the wares indicate a highly developed technique. The most important pottery of the period is what is known as the Northern Black Polished (N. B. P.) ware, found at present in abundance from excavations in the Gangetic valley. That this type of ware was in use long before Aśoka is known from the excavations at Taxila where N. B. P. sherds have been found at lower than the Greek level[1] The Kausāmbī region is generally considered to be the original place of manufacture of this ware and it spread over different parts of India probably through trade. During excavation at Śiśupālgarh[2] fragments of this pottery were traced at Mauryan level (ascribed to 300-200 B. C.) while a greater amount of such ware was found at a later level dated 200 B. C.-100 A. D. The excavation brought to light a new type of pottery which was plain in finish with shades of dull grey or red, popular during the Maurya period in Kaliñga[3]. This ware is found occasionally polished and it indicates a well developed method of firing. In course of excavation at Jaugaḍa in 1957 a variety of Ahicchatra pottery of the Maurya period- a red ware in the form of a jar like vessel with thin walls and light body was found indicating an advanced technique.[4] The pottery of the succeeding period, particularly in the Śiśupālgarh, points out no basic difference. But a marked progress can be noticed in the imitation of applied and incised decoration patterns and in the comparative predominence of brightly polished red ware. Thus, the evidence of well fired pottery representing a developed industry undoubtedly points out a high level of civilisation in Kaliñga during the Mauryan and Suñga poriod.

1. *A. I.* no. 10 p. 23.
2. *Ibid* no. 5, p. 75.
3. *Ibid.*
4. The full report of the excavation at Jaugaḍa is yet to be published.

Punch marked silver coins, belonging to the Maurya and post Maurya period, have been discovered in large number at Bahaldā in Mayūrbhañja district, and at Jāgmarā and Jhārpaḍā—the suburbs of Bhuvaneśwar in Purī district. These coins are punched on both the sides, and while the obverse presents a cluster of symbols, the reverse contains only a few signs which are probably the checking marks. The symbols on the obverse represent different ideologies, which have not yet been properly explained. Some of the common symbols on these coins are those of the sun, crescent moon, crescent on hills, arches on hills, wheel having six bars (*Saḍara Chakra*), tree within railings or without railings, auspicious jar (*Purṇa ghaṭa*) and the like. Animal figures like those of the bull, lion, elephant, horse, rabbit jumping on hills, and also the figures of snake, fish, scorpion are found, while weapons like tridant, goad, noose, bow and arrow are also depicted on some of them. Scholars like Durgaprasad[1] and Kosambi,[2] who have worked on punch marked coins, are of opinion that many of the symbols, mentioned above, are very probably Mauryan ones. Some of the coins have religious symbols akin to Swastika, Nandipada and Baddha mañgala, which are found in the caves of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri. These coins were very probably being circulated in Kaliñga during the rule of Khāravela, whose *Hāthigumphā Inscription* is also found to be decorated with such symbols. There is, however, no doubt that punch marked coins were in circulation in the Mauryan empire and the *Arthaśāstra*[3] refers to such coins as medium of exchange, as well as, the legel tender in the country. According to this text the coins of the empire were of various denominations known as *Paṇa*, *māṣaka* and *Kākaṇi*. *Paṇa* was probably the silver coin, while

1. *J. A. S. B.*, xxx (Num. Sup.) pp. 40-45.
2. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* xxiv – xxv (Num. Sup.), 1948-49,
3. *Arthaśāstra* II. 12.

the other two were copper coins. The copper punch marked coins are rarely found, and only a few such coins have been reported from Orissa. The Śiśupālgarh excavation has brought to light at least five copper coins of punch marked variety[1] belonging probably to Maurya and post-Maurya period.

The find of the silver coins, in the suburbs of Bhuvaneśwar, is very significant, and these coins are believed to have been minted at Toṣālī. Romila Thapar[2] suggests that imperial mints were probably situated in five major cities of Maurya empire and the coins were issued by the central authority with symbols having some connection with local commerce or local administration. But, more likely, these coins were issued by guilds or some such commercial institutes as tokens of trade and these were approved as legal tender by the royal authorities. In one of the coins of Jhārpaḍā, we find three Brāhmī letters—'Ya ge ra' – representing probably the insignia of the institute that issued and circulated such coins.

Many of the coins are found to be debased or alloyed suggesting scarcity of silver. But the find of these punch marked coins in several hoards, undoubtedly indicates the thriving condition of trade in Kaliñga The circulation of such coins, however, continued long after the Mauryas, and there are evidences to conclude that these were known in Kaliñga as late as cir. 300 A. D.[3]

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1. *A. I.* no. 5 p. 98.
2. *Asoka and the Decline af the Mauryas*, p. 248.
3. Punch marked coin moulds were found at Śiśupālgarh in layers attributed to cir 300 A. D
(*A. I.*, no 5, p 99).

APPENDIX

A series of fourteen Edicts constitute the Rock Edicts of Aśoka. Full sets of Rock Edicts have been discovered at Girnār near Junāgarh in Gujrāt, Kālasi in Derahdoon district of U. P., Yerrāguḍi in Kurnool district of Andhra, Mansehrā in Hazārā district of West Pakistan and Shāhbāzgarhī in Peshwar district of West Pakistan. At Sopārā in Thānā district of Gujrāt, fragments of R. E. VIII and IX were discovered which are at present preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. In Orissa, two sets of Rock Edicts have been discovered, one at Dhaulī on the bank of the Dayā river in Purī district and the other at Jaugaḍa on the bank of the river Ṛṣkulyā in Gañjām district. The hill, on which the Rock Edicts were inscribed at Dhaulī, was known as Surabha Parvata and that at Jaugaḍa was called Khapiṁgala Parbata. In both these places the Edicts XI, XII and XIII have not been inscribed and instead of these three, two special Edicts have been engraved in each place. These special Edicts are called *Separate Rock Edict* I and *Separate Rock Edict II.*

Out of the sixteen Edicts mentioned above, the *R. E.* XIII, *S. R. E.* I and *S. R. E.* II are of great importance for history of Kaliñga under Aśoka. *R. E.* XIII contains detailed description of the Kaliñga war, while the other two *Separate Rock Edicts* elucidate the administrative policy of Aśoka in the newly conquered province of Kaliñga, as well as, his policy towards the unconqured Āṭavika people living beyond the borders of his empire to the West of Kaliñga. The actual text and English translation of these three Edicts are given below.

A

Rock Edict XIII, Shāhbāzgarhī (Pakistan) version, Inscribed on the West face of the Shāhābazgarhi rock in Kharoṣṭhī script.

Edited by—

Bühler, *E. I*, II, pp. 246 f.
Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, I, pp. 66 f,
Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp 35. f.

Text

L. 1. (अठ)वष अ[भिसि]त [स] [देवन] प्रि[य]स प्रि[य]द्रशिस र[ञो] क लिग] वि [ज]त ।] दि अढ म[त्रे] प्रण शत सह स्र ये] ततो अपवुढ़े शत सहस्र मत्रे तत्र हते बहु तवत[के] [व] [मुटे] [।]

L. 2. ततो[प च अ[धु न ल[धे]षु [कलिगेषु] [तिव्रे][धमशिलन][1]ध म क] मत धमनुशस्ति च देवन प्रियस [।] सो [अ]स्ति अनुसोचन[2] देवन [प्रिय]स विजिनिति कलिग[नि] [।]

L. 3. अविजितं[हि] [वि]जिनमनो या त[त्र] वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं वढ़[वे] दनि [य] म [तं] गुरु मत[ं]च देवनं प्रियस [।] इदं पि चु [ततो] गुरुमततरं [देवनं]प्रियस ये तत्र

L. 4. वसति व्रमण व श्रम[ण]व अ [ं] ञे व प्रपंड़ ग्र[ह]थ व येसु विहित एष अग्रगुटि सुश्रुष मत पितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मित्र संस्तुत सहय

L. 5. अतिकेषु दसभटकनं सम्म प्रतिप[टि]द्रिढ़ भतित तेष तत्र भोति[अ]प [ग्र]थो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं [।] येष व पि सुविहितनं [सि]ने हो अविप्रहिनो[एते]ष मित्र संस्तुत सहय अतिक वसन

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1. Other versions संप्रवाय
2. Other versions अनुशय

L. 6. प्रपुणति [त]त्र तं पि तेष वो अपग्रथो[1] भोति [।] प्रतिभगं च [ए]तं सत्र मनुशनं गुरुमतं च देवनं प्रिय[स] [।] नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषड़स्पि न नम प्रसदो[2] [।] सो यमत्रो[3] [ज]नो तद कलिगे [ह]तो च मु[टो]च अप[वुढ़] च ततो

L. 7 शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व [अ] ज गुरुमतं [वो] देवनं प्रिय स [।] यो पि च अपकरेयति क्षमितवियमते व देवनं [प्रि]यस यं शको क्षमनये [। य पि च अटवि देवनं प्रियस विजिते भोति तपि अनुनेति अनुनिझपेति [।] अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे

L. 8. देवनं प्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवत्रपेयु न च [हं]ञेयसु [।] इछति हि [देव]नंप्रियो सव्र भुतन अक्षति स[ं]यमं सम[च]रिय रभसिये[4] [।] एषे च मुख मुत बिजये देवनं प्रिय[स] यो ध्रमविजयो [।] सो च पुन लधो देवनं प्रियस इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु ।

L. 9. [अ]षषु पि योजन श [ते]षु यत्र अंतियोक नम [यो]न रज परं च तेन अ[ं]तियो[के]न चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम निच चोड़ पंड़ अव त[ं] वपं [णि] य [।] [ए] वमेव [हि] द रज विषवस्पि योन क [ं] वोयेषु नभक नभितिन[5]

L. 10. भोज पितिनिकेषु अंध्र पलिदेषु सवत्र[6] देवनं प्रियस ध्रमनुशस्ति अनुवटंति [।] यत्रपि देवनं प्रियस दुत न ब्रचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनं प्रियस ध्रमवुटं विधनं ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं [अ]नुविधियंति अनुविधियिशं [ति] च [।] यो [च] लधे एतकेन भो [ति] सवत्र विजयो सव [त्र] पु[न]

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1. Other versions उपधात ।
2. Girnār Kālsi, and Mānsehrā versions have—
   नथि चा पे जनपदे यता नथि इमे निकाया आनता योनेषु
   [illegible] चा षमने चा नथि चा कुवापि जनपदषि यता नथि
   मनुशाने एकतरंपि पि पाषड़षि नो नाम वधादे ।
3. Other versions यावतक ।
4. Other versions have मादव in place of रभसिये
5. Other versions have नाभपंतिषु for नभितिन
6. Girnār—पारिंदेसु; Kālsi—पालदेषु

L. 11. विजयो प्रितिरसो सो [।] लध [भोति] प्रिति धम विजयस्पि [।] लहुक तु खो स प्रिति[।]परत्रि [क] मेव महफल मेञति देवन [ं]प्रियो [।] एतये च अठये अपि धमदिपि निपि [स्त] [।] किति पुत्र पपोत्र मे अनु नवं विजयं म विजेत [ि]वअ मञिषु स्प[कस्पि][1] यो विज [ये] [ञं] ति च लहु द[ं]ड़त च रोचेतु तं च यो विजयं मञ [तु]

L. 12. यो धमविजयो [।] सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको [।] सव चतिरति भोतु य [ध्र][ं]मरति [।] सहि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक [॥]

Translation

L.1 In the eighth year of his consecration the 'Beloved of the gods', the king Piyadasi, conquered Kaliñga. In that a hundred and fifty thousand people were deported, a hundred thousand were killed and as many as that number perished.

L.2 After that, with the recent acquisition of Kaliñga, there commenced in the mind of the 'Beloved of the gods' ardent desire for practice of Dhamma, intense love for Dhamma and longing for inculcation of Dhamma. On conquering Kaliñga the 'Beloved of the gods' feels remorse.

L1. 3-5 When an unconquered country is conquered the slaughter, death, and deportation that occur there, are considered extremely painful and serious by the 'Beloved of the gods'. What is even more deplorable to the 'Beloved of the gods' is that those who dwell there, whether Brāhmaṇas, Sramaṇas or other sects, or house-holders who practise obedience to elders, obedience to mother and father, obedience to teachers, and also seemly behaviour and stead-fast devotion towards friends,

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1. Gianār- सरसके; Kālsi—धयकविनो

acquaintances, companions, relatives, slaves and servants, all of them suffer because of injury, slaughter or deportation of near and dear ones.

L1. 5-7 Even those who are fortunate to have escaped, and whose affection is undiminished (by the brutalising effect of war), suffer from the misfortunes of their friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives. This participation of all men in suffering, weighs heavily on the mind of the 'Beloved of the gods'. There is not a single religious order which does not advocate peace.[1] So if a hundredth or a thousandth part of those people who were killed, met death, or were deported at that time in Kaliñga, would now similarly suffer, it would be considered very deplorable by the 'Beloved of the gods'.

L1. 7-8 If any one does harm that may be pardoned by the 'Beloved of the gods' as far as it can possibly be pardoned. To those Aṭavi people, who are residing in the empire of the 'Beloved of the gods', he appeals and warns that the 'Beloved of the gods' has power even in his remorse, and he tells them to desist from (doing harm), as otherwise, they would be killed. The 'Beloved of the gods' desires that all beings should be unharmed, have self-control and equanimity.

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1. For Girnār Kālsi and Mānshehrā versions this sentence may be rendered as below :-

Except among the Greeks, there is no land where the orders of Brāhmaṇas and Sramaṇas do not exist, and there is no country where even a single religious order of men does not advocate peace.

L1 8-9 The 'Beloved of the gods' considers victory by Dhamma to be the best victory. Moreover, the 'Beloved of the gods' has obtained such victory in all outlying states to a distance of six hundred Yoyanas where reigns the Greek king named Antiochus and beyond the realm of that Antiochus in the lands of the four kings named Ptolemy, Antigonus, Mages and Alexander; and in the South over the lands of the Cholas and Pāṇḍyas as far as Tāṁvapaṁṇī (Ceylon).

L1. 9-10 Like wise, here in the imperial territories among the Greeks, Koṁbojas, Nabhākas and Nabhā paṁtis, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, Āndhras and Pāradas, every where people follow the inculcation of Dhamma of the 'Beloved of the gods'. Even in those lands where the envoys of the 'Beloved of the gods' have not paid visit people hearing of the account of Dhamma, the precepts and inculcation of Dhamma of the 'Beloved of the gods' act according to Dhamma and would continue to do that.

L1. 10-11 It is by this that victory is obtained everywhere and victory every where is based on the sentiment of love. One obtains love through victory by Dhamma. Yet that love is of inferior type because the 'Beloved of the gods' regards that only to be of great merit which pertains to the other world.

L1. 11-12 The purpose for which this edict of Dhamma has been inscribed is that my sons and grand-sons should not think of making new conquests and should be satisfied in abstaining from conquest by arms, as well as, in precribing light punishment.

They should consider conquest by Dhamma as the only conquest, as that is of value both in this world and in the other world. They all should take pleasure in that which is the pleasure of Dhamma because that is of value both in this world and the other world.

B

Separate Rock Edict I, Dhaulī version.

Edited by—

Kern, *J. R. A. S.*. 1880, pp. 379 f.
Senart. *I. A.*, XIX, pp. 82 f.
Bühler *A. S. S. I.*, I, pp. 114 f.
Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, I, pp. 92 f.
Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 41 f.

Text

L. 1. [देवान]ं [पि]य [स] [वव]नेन तोसलिं[1] म[हा]मात [नग]ल [f] [बयो] हालक[ा]

L. 2. [व]तविय [।] [अं] किछि [दखा]मि हकं तं इछामि [किंति] कं[मन] [प]टि [पादये]हं

L. 3. दुवालो च आलभेहं [।] एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवा[ल] [एतसि] [अठ]सि अं तु[पेसु]

L. 4. अनुसथि [।] तुडे हि वहूसु पान सहसेसु आयता पन[थं] [ग]छेम सु मुनिसानं [।] सवे

L. 5. मुनिसे पजा समा [।] अथ[ा] पजाये इछामि हक[ं] [किंति] [स]वे [न] [हि]त सुखेन हिदलो[किक]

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1. समापायं in Jaugaḍa version.

L. 6. पाललोकिके[न] [यूजेवू] [ति] तथा [सव मुनि]सेसु पि[इ]छामि [ह]क[ं] [।] नोच पापुनाथ आव ग

L. 7. [मुके] [इयं अठे] [।] [केछ] [व] एक पुलि[से] [पापु]नाति ए[तं] से पि देसं नो सवं [।] दे[खत] [हि] [तुके] एतं

L. 8. सुवि[हि]ता पि[।] [नि]तियं एक पुलिसे [पि] [अथि] [ये] वंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा पापुनाति [।] तत होति

L. 9. अकस्मा तेन वधन[ं]तिक अ[ं]ने च[1] [तत] [व]हु जने द[वि]ये दुखीयति [।] तत इछितविये

L. 10. तुपेहि किंति मझं पटिपादयेमा ति [।] इमे [हि]चु [जातेहि] नो संपटिपजति इसाय आसुलोपेन

L. 11. नि[ठू]लियेन तूलना[य]अनाबूतिय आलसियेन [ि]कलमथेन [।] से इछितविये किंति एते

L. 12. [जाता] [नो]हुवेवु म[म][ा]ति [।] एतस च सव [स] मूले अनासुलोपे अ[तू]लना च[।] निति [य] ' ए किलंते सिया

L. 13. [न]ते उग[छे] संचलित वि[ये]तु वा[ट]ता[वये] एतविये वा [।] हेवं मेव ए द[खिये] [तु]फाक तेन वतविये

L. 14, आनं ने देखत हेवं च हेवं च [दे]वानंपियस अनुसथि [।] से मह[ा]फ [ले] [ए]तस [संप]टिपाद

L. 15. महा अपाये असंपटिपति [।] [वि] प[ि]टपादयमिने हि एतं नथि स्वगस [आल]धि नो जाज[ा]ला[ध] [।]

L. 16. दुआ[ह]ले हि इ[म]स कंम[स] [मे]कुते म[ने] अतिलेके [।] स[ं]पटिपज[मी][ने] चु एतं स्वग[ं]

L. 17. आलाध[यि]म[थ] [मम] [च] [आ]ननियं एहथ [।] इयं च [लिपि] [ति]सन[ख]तेन सो [ठ] विय [ा] [।]

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1. Jaugada version has अन्येच वगे वहुक वेदयति ।

L. 18. अं[त][ले] । [प]चा [त][सेन] [ख]नसि ख[नसि] एकेन पि सोतविय [।] हेवं च कलं तं तुफे

L. 19. चतुथ संप[टि] पाद [ि] यतवे [।] [एता]ये अठाये इय [ं] [लिपि] लिखित [हि]द एन

L. 20. नगल वि [योहा]लका[1] स[स्व]तं समयं यूजेबू [ि]त [एन] [ज] [न] स[2] अकस्मा [प]लिबोधे व

L. 21, अकस्मा पलिकि [लेसे] व नो सिया ति [।] एताये च अठाये हक [ं] [महा] मते पंचसु पंचसु [व] से

L. 22. सु [निखा] मयिसामि ए अखखसे अ [चंएडे] सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानितु [तं] [पि] [त]था

L. 23. कल [ं] ति अथ मम अनुसथी ति [।] उजोनते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये [नि]खाम[यिस][ति] × × ×

L. 24. हेदिसमेव दगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिनि वसानि [।] हेमेव तख [सि] लाते पि [।] [अ] दा अ × × ×

L. 25. ते महामता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंमं एतं पि जानिसंति

L. 26. तंपि त [थ] । कलंति अ [थ] लाजिने अनुसथीति [॥]

Translation

LI. 1-4 By order of the 'Beloved of the gods' the Minister and the City judiciaries of Toṣālī should speak to themselves thus - whatever I see to be right that I desire to achieve through action and by effective means. This is what I consider to be the best and instruct you all for this purpose.

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1. Jaugaḍa version has महामाता नगलक
2. Hultzsch's restoration.

LI. 4-6 You are all appointed in charge of many thousands of persons, so you should cultivate love for all persons. All men are my children, and just as I desire for my own children that they should have bliss and happiness both in this world and the other world, so also I desire the same for all men.

LI. 6-8 But you do not realise this to the extent its meaning can reach. If possibly one among you can realise it, that even he does only in part and not in its entirety. You all being well placed should perceive this principle well.

LI. 8-12 In affairs of administration there may be persons who would suffer imprisonment or coercion. In that also may occur accidental death in the prison and many other people may also heavily suffer for that. So you all should desire this—you should strive to practise impartiality. But it cannot be practised by those who have jealousy, anger, harshness, rashness, irregularity, idleness or slackness. So you all should desire that these blemishes should not be in you. At the root of all these lie equanimity and serenity of mind.

LI. 12-15 In affairs of administration if one is fatigued,one should not exert; so while acting you should have patience and proceed forward. Those among you who approve of this should say-do not see any thing else, such and such are the instructions of the 'Beloved of the gods'. Carrying out of these (instructions) in right manner would lead to great merit and impoper practice of these would result in great loss because by disregarding these you would gain neither heaven nor royal favour.

LI. 16-17 Why do I devote my mind so extensively to the fact of discharging this duty in two different manners ? Because, by proper performance of it you will not only gain heaven but also will discharge your debt to me.

LI. 17-19 This edict should be read out by you on '*Tiṣya Nakṣatra* day', and at intervals between the Tiṣya days you should read it out even to a single man. By doing this you will get inspiration for proper performance of duty.

LI. 19-23 The edict is inscribed here with the purpose that the city judiciaries should always act upto it so that people should not suffer from sudden arrest and ill considered persecution. And for this purpose I shall send out on tour in every five years the Mahāmātras (ministers) who realising the purpose of it would not be harsh in behaviour and pugnacious in temper and would strive with pleasing manners to act according to my instructions.

LI. 23-24 The prince at Ujjayinī should also send out for this purpose similar officers at intervals not exeeding three years, so also will be in case of Takṣasilā.

LI 24-26 Whenever the Mahāmātras would go out on tour, they shall, without neglecting their own duties, realise this-they are doing that which conforms to the instructions of the king.

C

Reparate Rock Ediet II, Jaugaḍa version.

Edited by—

Kern, *J.R.A.S.*, 1880, pp. 379 f
Senart *I. A.*, XIX, pp,82 f.
Bühler, *A.S.S.I.*, I, pp. 114 f.
Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, I, pp. 115 f.
Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 46 f.

Text

L. 1. देवानं पिये हेवं आ [ह] [।] समापायं महामता[1] ल [।]ज वचनिक वतविया [।] अं किछि दख [।] मि हकं तं इ [छ]ामि हकं [कि] ति कं कमन

L. 2 पटिपादयेहं दुवा [ल] ते च आलभेहं [।] ए स च मे मोखियमतं दुवाल एतस अ [थ] स अ [ं] [तुफे] सु अनुस [थि] [।] सव मुनि

L. 3· सा मे पजा [।] अथ पजा [ये] इछामि किंति मे सवेणा हित सु [खे] न यु [जे] यू [अ] थ पजाये इछामि किं [ति] [मे] सवेन हित सु

L. 4. [खे] न युजेयू[2] ति हिद लोगिक पाललोकि [केण] हेवंमेव मे इच्छ सव मुनिसेसु [।] सिया अंतानं [अ] विजिता

L. 5. नं किं छंदे सु लाजा अपेसू ति [।] एताका [वा] मे इछ [अ]ं तेसु पापुनेयु लाजा हेवं इछति अनु [विगि] न हे यू]

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1. Dhaulī version has तोसलियं कुमाले महामाता च
2. The portion from अथपजाये to युजेयू has been repeated in the edict.

L, 6. मिमियाये [अ] खसेयु च मे सुख मेव च लहे [यू] ममते [नो] दुख [ं] [।] हेवं च पापुनेयु ख[मिस]ति ने लाजा

L. 7. ए सकिये खमितवे मम निमितं च धंम [ं] चले [यू]ंति हिदलोग च पललोग च आलाधये [यू] [।] एताये

L. 8. च अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अन [ने]; [एत]केन [ह] कं तुफेनि अ [नु] सासितु छंद [ं] [च] बेदि

L. 9. [तु] आ मम धिति पटिना च अचल [।] स हेवं [क]टू क [ं] मे [च]लितबिये अस्वास[नि]या च वे एन ते पापुने

L 10. यु अ [थ] । पित [हे] बं [ने] लाजा ति अथ [अ]तानं अनुकंप [ति] [हे] वं अ [फे] नि अनुक [ंप] ति अथा पजा हे

L. 11. वं [मये] ला [जि] ने [।] तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित [छ]ंदं [च] [बेदि] त [आ] [म] म धिति पटिना चा अचल [सक] ल

L. 12. देसा आ [युति] के होसामी एतसि [अ]थ[ि]स [।] [अ] लं [हि] तुफे अस्वास[ना]ये हि [त] सुखाये [च] [ते] स [ं] हिद

L. 13. लोगि [क] प [ा] ल [लो] कि [काये] [।] हेवं च कलंतं स्वग [ं] [च] [आ] लाधयिस [थ]. मम च आन [ने], यं एथस [।] ए

L 14. ताये च अ [थ] । ये इ [यं] लिपी लि [खित] [हि] द ए [न] [म]इ [।] माता सासवतं सम [यं] युजेयू अस्वासनाये च

L. 15. धंम चल [ना] ये च अंता [न]' [।] इ यं च लिपे अ[नु]च[।] तुं[म]सं सोत विया तिसेन [।] अंतला पि चसोतविया [।]

L. 16. खने संतं एके [न] पि [सोतवि] या [।] हेव [ं] च [क] लं [त]' चथथ संपटिपातयित [वे] [।।]

Translation

LI. 1-2 The 'Beloved of the gods' orders thus. The Mahāmātra (minister) and the Rājavachanika (officer in-charge of royal decrees) at Samāpā should speak to themselves—whatever I approve of, I desire to achieve through action and by effective means, This is what I consider to be the best and I instruct you all for this purpose.

LI. 2-4 All men are my children, and just as I desire for my own children that they should have bliss and happiness both in this world and the other world so also I desire the same for all men.

LI. 4-6 The unconquered people on my borders may ask-what is the policy of the king towards us ? They should be made to understand that this is my desire with regard to them.—The king desires that they should not be worried because of him. They should derive consolation from him and get from him happiness and no sorrow.

LI. 6-7 They should understand this that the king will forgive them as far as it is possible on his part to forgive and that they should practise Dhamma for his sake and gain this world and the other world.

LI. 7-12 I instruct you for the purpose that by doing so I may discharge my debt towards you and also that I may make you know my policy that unflinching are my promise and determination. By honouring this you perform your duties and console yourself. You realise this, that 'the king is just like our father and as he feels for his own so also he feels

for ourselves as we are like the children of the king.' I instruct you for this and make you know my policy that unflinching are my promise and determination and all pervading is my authority.

LI. 12-13 You are all capable of giving them (frontier people) consolation, as well as, bliss and happiness in this world and the other world. By doing this you will attain heaven and also help me discharge my debt (to my people).

LI. 13-16 This edict has been engraved here for the purpose that the Mahāmātras shall all time attend to the work of conciliation of the frontier people and of promoting Dhamma among them. This edict is to be read out every four months on the day of Tiṣya and also at interval between Tiṣya days. At times, it may be read out even to a single person. By doing this you will get inspiration to act according to my instructions.

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CHAPTER—VI

KALIṄGA UNDR THE ĀRYA MAHĀMEGHAVAHANAS.

KHĀRAVELA.

I

Date of Khāravela.

The determination of the date of Khāravela is one of the perplexing problems in history. The *Hāthiguṁphā Inscription* of Khāravela[1], which is the only authentic source for the history of his time, is not properly preserved and contains many lacunae which have given rise to unnecessary speculations by scholars. This has led to distortion of facts in such a way that Khāravela has been assigned to different periods ranging from the fourth century B. C. to the first centnry B. C. Rajendra Lal Mitra, who does not even know the name of Khāravela and regards the king of the inscription to be one Aira, places him as early as the fourth century B. C.[2] Fleet[3] and Luders[4] are inclined to assign king Khāravela to the third century B. C. Bhagwan. Lal Indraji[5] is the first scholar to read the name of Khāravela in the *Hāthiguṁphā Inscription* and he is also a pioneer in giving a more correct version improving upon the reading of Prinsep[6] and Rajendra Lal

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1. See Appendix to this Chapter.
2. *Antiquities of Orissa*, pp. II, 16 f.
3. *J. R. A. S.* 1910, pp. 242 f and 824 f.
4. *List* 1315 & *E. I.* X p. 161.
5. *Actes du Sixieme Congres International des Orientialistes*, pt. III, pp. 152–177.
6. *J. A. S. B.* VI. pp. 1075–1091.

Mitra. According to Indraji, Khāravela belongs to the second century B. C. and he is supported by Sten Konow[1], K. P. Jayaswal[2], R. D. Banerji[3] and many other scholars. But another group of scholars represented by R. P. Chanda[4], H. C. Ray Chaudhury[5], B. M. Barua[6], N. N. Ghosh[7] and D. C. Sircar[8] place Khāravela in the first century B. C. Thus a wide difference of opinion is noticed amongst scholars in their attempt to determine the date of Khāravela and out of the tangle skein of opinions it seems very difficult to trace the correct string of time for placing Khāravela in proper sequence of history.

The attempt to assign Khāravela either to the fourth or third century B. C. is based on wrong reading and interpretation of the inscription and the find of it is contrary to known facts of Indian history. Khāravela could not have flourished in the fourth century B. C. when Mahāpadmananda ruled over Kaliñga[9] and also in the third century B. C., when Aśoka and his successors[10] held way over this territory. So the theory in connection with the fourth and the third century B. C. as the time of Khāravela is without doubt untenable. The *Hāthigumphā Inscription* itself provides a few suggestive evidences which may be examined for arriving at a more correct conclusion regarding the date of Khāravela. These are connected with an alleged Maurya era, one

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1. 1. *Acta Orintalia*, I, pp. 12 f.
2. *J. B. O. R. S.* III, pp. 425 f; IV, pp. 364 f; XIII. pp. 221 f; XIV, pp. 150 f.
3. *J. B. O. R. S.*, IV pp. 486 f.
4. *M. A. S. I.* No. 1. p. 10.
5. *P. H. A. I.* 1950,pp. 377 f. and pp. 418 f.
6. *O. B. I.* 1929,pp 268 f.
7. *Early History of India.*
8. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 206.
9. See *Supra*, ch. IV.
10. See *Supra*, IV.

Bahasatimita, the king of Añga and Magadha, a Yavanarāja tentatively named Dimata, a Nandarāja, and king Sātakarṇi of Sātavāhana dynasty. The problems associated with each of them are examined below.

The Alleged Maurya Era.

It was Bhagwan Lal Indraji[1] who propounded for the first time a dubious theory on the basis of line 16 of the *Hāthigumphā Inscription* that the thirteenth regnal year of Khāravela corresponded to the 165th year of the Maurya era counted from 255 B. C. which he supposed to be the date of Aśoka's Kaliñga Vijaya. According to this calculation, Khāravela's accession took place in 103 B.C. (255 B. C. - 165+13). The reading of '*Rāja Muriya Kāla*' by Indraji was later on accepted by Sten Konow[2] and was also supported by Jayaswal[3] and R. D. Banerji[4]. Jayaswal and Banerji, in I917 took the expression '*Muriyakāle*' as Maurya era counted from the date of accession of Chandragupta Maurya. But Sten Konow in 1923 found no era in the expression '*Rāja-Muriya-Kāla*'[5] and explained it as meaning the time of the Maurya king Chandragupta. R. P. Chanda regarded the expression in Line 16 as a "a very unusual way of stating a date," and further observed that "still more unusual is the statement of a date as an independent achievement in the Praśasti"[6]. Subsequently both Jayaswal and Banerji[7] gave up their previous idea of the 'Maurya era' and although the former continued to hold the reading '*Muriyakāla*' he explicitly declared in 1930 that 'there is no date in a

1. Indraji, *Ibid.*
2. Sten Konow, *Ibid*
3. K. P. Jayaswal, *Ibid.*
4. R. D. Banerji, *Ibid.*
5. Sten Konow, *Ibid.*
6. R. P. Chanda, *Ibid.*
7. *History of Orissa* I, p. 82 and also *E. I.* XX p. 72.

Maurya era in the 16 line' of the *Hāthigumphā Inscription.* D. C. Sircar[1] reads '*Mukhiyakala*' in place of *Muriyakāla* and explains the expression '*Mukhiyakala Vochhinaṁ*' as chief arts that consist of singing and dancing. This, however, seems erroneous because *Vochhinaṁ (Vyavachhinnaṁ)* which means 'cut off' or 'interrupted' cannot be taken to mean '*Samanvitaṁ*'[2], i. e. comprising or consisting of. Moreover, the word *Muriyakāla* is a definite reading and the letter *Ri* of the expression '*Muriya*'[3], is recognised by all epigraphists invariably from the time of Prinsep to the time of Chanda and Barua. This portion of Line 16 means that Khāravela revived the '*Tauryatrika*' (performance of dance, song and concert) with its sixtyfour branches that had been suspended in Kaliñga during the time of the Mauryas.[4]

The Line 16, therefore, speaks of the 'period of the Maurya rule' and not of any 'Maurya era'.[5] So this cannot

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1. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 210 and 213.
2. In his Sanskrit text of the *Hathīgumphā Inscription* Dr. Sircar renders 'मुखियकल वोछिनं' as 'गीतनृत्यादिसमन्वितं'.
   Select Inscriptions, p. 213.
3. The letter *Ri* of the ''*Muriyakāla*' may be compared with *Ri* in 'Veduriya' of the same Line 16; '*Siri Khāravelena*' in Line 1 ; 'Siri' in Line 2 ; 'Kaliñganagari' in Line 3; '*Goradhagiri*' in Line 7 ; '*Pariharaṁ*' in Line 9 and '*Khāravelasiri*' in Line 17. There is clear distinction between *Ri* and *Khi* of the Inscription and the letter '*Khi*' may be examined for the purpose in cases of '*Khivirāṁ*' in Line 3 ; '*Nikhita*' in Line 5 and '*Pakhiṇa*' in Line 14 of the Inscription.
4. See the translation of the passage in the Appendix.
5. The edicts of Aśoka are dated in his regnal year and counted from the date of his coronation, and no record of his succesors, so far available, carry any trace of an era. V. Smith draws our attention to an era of Saṁprati, grand son of Aśoka, mentioned in an ancient Jaina manuscript (*Early History of India* 4th Edition, p. 202 note). But such an era is not found in use else where and the account of that manuscript, as well as, the theory based on it are highly doubtful.

help us determining the date of Khāravela as supposed by earliar scholars.

Bahasatimita.

In support of the theory that Khāravela belongs to the second century B. C. Jayaswal identifies the king Bahasatimita in Line 12 of the *Hāthigumphā Inscription* with 'Puṣyamitra Suñga. the founder of the Suñga dynasty[1] (185 B. C.). He argues on the authority of the *Sāṁkhyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (i, 26, 6) that Bṛhaspati (*Jiva*) is the regent (*Nakśatrādhipa*) of the Zodiacal asterism *Puṣya* (*Tiṣya*) in the constellation Cancer, and so Khāravela calls him Bṛhaspati Mitra (Bahasatimita) instead of Puṣyamitra. The identification of Bahasatimita i. e. Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra Suñga, as suggested by Jayaswal, has been accepted by Banerji[2], Sten Konow[3], V. Smith[4] and Jouveau Dubreuil[5]. But this appears to be based more on conjecture than on any convincing evidence. Ray Choudhuri points out that the name 'Bṛhaspati' is not to be equated with Puṣyamitra simply because Bṛhaspati is the regent of the asterism Puṣya, because in literature Brhaspati, Puṣyadharman and Puṣyamitra occur as names of distinct individuals[6] R. P. Chanda argues "Even if we admit that Bṛhaspati was also identified by the ancient Hindus with Puṣya, that does not justify the identification of Bṛhaspati Mitra with Puṣyamitra any more than the denotation of the same God by the term Skanda and Kumāra justi-

1. *J. B. O. R. S.* III, pp. 236–245.
2. *J. B. O. R.* III, p. 504.
3. *Acta Orientalia* I, p. 29.
4. *Oxford History of India.*
5. *Early History of the Deccan.*
6. *P. H. A. I.* 1950, p. 374, n. 3.

fies the identification of Skandagupta with Kumāragupta"[1]. So Bahasatimita of the inscription should be treated as a distinct individual and his identification with Puṣyamitra Suñga is far-fetched and untenable. An identification between the two is not warranted by sobre history and astrological speculation that goes to distort facts should be rejected as unhistorical.

The name Bṛhaspatimitra occurs in different records of the post Suñga period, and coins bearing the legend 'Bṛhaspatimitra' have also been traced in Kauṣāmbī and Ahichhatra region.[2] A king named Bṛhasvātimitra is known from Yasamitā's brick tablet[3] found at Morā near Mathurā, in which queen Yasamitā has been described as the daughter of Bṛhasvātimitra. One of the two inscriptions of Āṣāḍhasena found at Pabhoṣā near Kauśāmbī, inscribed in the 10th regnal year of Udāka, also refers to king Bahastimitra, who is described there as the son of Gopālī, while Āṣāḍhasena is mentioned as his maternal uncle.[4] In the 2nd *Pabhoṣā inscription* Āṣāḍhasena is described as a king of Ahichhatra.[5] If Bṛhasvātimitra of queen Yasamitā's brick-tablet and Bahasatimitra of *Pabhoṣā Inscription* No. 1 be taken to be identical, which appears very probable, it may be said that the mother of Bahasatimitra (Gopālī) was a daughter of the royal family of Ahichhatra and that the king of Mathurā region was his son-in-law. Both Āṣāḍhasena and Yasamitā are proud of their relation with king Bṛhaspatimitra, which indicates that he enjoyed considerable political prestige during that time.

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1. *I. H. Q.* V. p. 597.
2. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. 146-155 ; 185
3. *J. R. A. S.* 1912, p. 120.
4. *E. I.* II, pp. 242 f.
5. *Ibid.*

Jayaswal identifies Udāka of the *Pabhoṣā Inscription* No. 1 with Oḍraka the 5th Suñga king mentioned in the *Purāṇas*.[1] This king has been variously represented as Āndhraka, Bhadraka, Ārdraka, Antaka, Oḍruka, etc.[2] The identification of Jayaswal cannot, however, be accepted because according to the *Purāṇas*, Oḍraka ruled only for two years,[3] while the *Pabhoṣā Inscription* No. 1 states that Āṣāḍhasena excavated the cave for the Arhats in the 10th regnal year of Udāka.[4] Among the successors of Puṣyamitra only Bhāga or Bhāgavata, the 9th Suñga king, is known to have reigned for more than 10 years.[5] But there is hardly any ground to identify Bhāgavata with Udāka of the *Pabhoṣā Inscription*. The king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra, to whose court the Yavana ambassador Heliodoros came and installed a Garuḍadhvaja Pillar at Vidisā in the 14th regnal year of the king (Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra)[6] is identified by scholars either with the 5th Suñga king Oḍraka or with the 9th Suñga king Bhāgabhadra.[7] But neither of them can be taken to be identical with Udāka as the latter can hardly be associated with the ruling family of the Vidisā region in the *Pabhoṣā Inscription*. Thus in absence of reliable evidence it is not possible to identify Udāka with any king of the Suñga dynasty mentioned in the *Purāṇa* and he may tentatively be taken as a local ruler of the Kauśāmbī region.[8]

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1. *J. B. O. R. S.* III, 1917, p. 474.
2. Ārdraka and Oḍruka in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Āṇdhraka* in the *Vāyu*, and Antaka in the *Matsya*.
3. *D. K. A.* p. 31.
4. *E. I.* II, pp. 242 f.
5. *D. K. A.* p. 32.
6. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* XXIII, p. 104.
7. Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 11, note, and also Rapson, *C. H. I.* I, p. 521.
8. Dr. Barua even doubts Udāka to be the personal name of a king as in the inscription the word *Rājño* is not inserted before the name and he thinks that it may be the name of the place where the cave was excavated, (*I.H.Q.* 1930 p 23).

Bahasatimitra of the *Pabhoṣā Inscription* was probably the king who issued coins bearing the legend 'Bṛhaspatimitra' and found from Kosām (ancient Kauśāmbī) and Rāmnagar (ancient Ahichhatra). If the provenance of the coins indicates the extent of his territory, it may be said that he had political sway over Kauśāmbī and Ahichhatra region and in that case he obtained suzerainty over Ahichhatra after the death of his uncle Āṣāḍhasena, who was a king of that place when the *Pabhoṣā Inscription* had been recorded.

The date of Bṛhaspatimitra can be determined by the palaeographic evidence of his coin legends. R. P. Chanda[1] points out that the form of medial '*i*' in the legend is also found in the inscriptions of the Kuṣānas, as well as, of the Guptas. Morcover, '*ha*' and '*sa*' have perfectly equalised vertical lines and '*sa*' closely resembles with the '*sa*' in the inscription of 'Soḍāsa'. Under this consideration the coins of Bṛhaspatimitra cannot be ascribed to the first half of the second century B. C. as suggested by Jayaswal[2] and they can be assigned to the second half of the first century B. C. on palaeographic consideration. The same arguments may also be advanced in determining the date of *Pabhoṣā Inscription* of Āṣāḍhaṣena. D. C. Sircar points out that the characters of this Inscription exhibiting angular forms and sherif have common peculiarities with the inscriptions of the Śakas of Mathurā. The developed form of medial '*i*' and medical '*u*', as well as, the curved base of '*na*' indicates without doubt a period which cannot be earlier than the second half of the first century B. C. Thus Bṛhaspatimitra whose coins have

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1. *I. H. Q.* V, pp. 596-97.
2. *J. B. O. R. S.* III. p. 479.
3. *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 97.

been found at Kosām and Rāmangar, may be ascribed to the second half of the first century B. C.

Bahasatimita, the adversary of Khāravela, has been described in the *Hāthīgāṁphā Inscription* as the king of Añga and Magadha[1] and as pointed out earlier, Jayaswal and many other scholars have identified this king with the famous emperor Puṣyamitra. But the palaeography of the *Hāthīguṁphā Inscription* cannot be as early as the time of Puṣyamitra Suñga. In the development of the Brhāmī-letter form, the characters of the *Hāthīguṁphā Inscription* are to be placed later than those of *Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription* of the time of Bhāgabhadra[2], identified with the penultimate Suñga king. The angular forms and horizontal basis of some of the letters like '*va*' '*ma*', '*pa*', '*ha*', '*ya*' of the *Hāthīguṁphā Inscription* indicate a definite advance from the Suñga script[3], and such peculiarities find striking similarity with the characters of the *Pabhoṣā Inscription* and of the coin legends of Bṛhaspatimitra. Jayaswal himself notes that "the characters on the coins of Bṛhaspatimitra belong to the age of Khāravela's inscription. The form of every letter in the coin can be pointed out in the inscription except probably of '*ha*' which has got both bars on the coin equal.[4]

Under these considerations Bahasatimita, whom Khāravela claims to have defeated, can be no other than the king Bahasatimitra of the *Pabhoṣā Inscription* and of the Kauśāṁbī and Ahichhatra coins. Epigraphic evidences indicate that Bahasatimita, the adversary of Khāravela was ruling over an extensive territory including Añga, Magadha

1. See Line 12 of the Inscription, in the Appendix.
2. For evolution of the Brahmi letters since Aśoka vide *M. A. S. I.* I. pp. 10-12 and *I. H. Q.* V, pp. 601-602.
3. See the opinion of Dr. Sircar in *Select Inscriptions* p. 206
4. *J. B. O. R. S.* III, p. 479.

Vatsa (Kauśāmbī) and Pañchāla (Ahichhatra) regions during the second half of the first century B. C.[1]

Yavanarāja.

Jayaswal attempts to corroborate his view regarding identification of Bahasatimita with Puṣyamitra Suñga by reading in Line 8 of the *Hāthigumphā Inscription* the name 'Yavanarāja Dimita' whom he identifies with the famous Indo-Greek king Demetrius, the contemporary of Puṣyamitra Suñga. In none of his readings done before 1919, Jayaswal could trace the words 'Yavanarāja Dimita.' In 1919 he and Benerji made a fresh attempt to examine the inscription and subsequently in 1927 Jayaswal declared that he read the word 'Yavanarāja' followed by the name 'Dimata'[2] and as regards 'Dimata' he stated that he found the clear trace of the syllable '*ma*', Banerji[2] was at one with Jayaswal in his reading of the proper name 'Dimata' and Sten Konow announced

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1. It may be pointed out that a series of kings having name endings "Mitra' ruled over Magadha, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā regions during the period preceding the Christian era. We know about these Mitra kings from various votive inscriptions at Bodhgayā (*Gayā and Bodhgayā* II, p. 74 and also Marshall's *A. S. Report*, 1907-08, p. 40) as well as, from coins found in Pañchāla, Mathurā and Kumrāhār regions. (Cuningham, *Coins of Ancient India* pp. 84-88, and Allan, *C. C. A. I.* pp. cxix-cxx). The names available to us are Bṛhatsvātimitra, Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra, Bṛhaspatimitra, Dharmamitra, Viṣṇumitra, Varuṇamitra, and Gomitra. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri states that "of these kings Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra and possibly Bṛhaspatimitra are definitely associated with Magadha in addition to other territories". (*P. H. A. I.* 1950, p. 401). So far as Bṛhaspatimitra is concerned Dr. Barua suggests that he came after Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra and was a weaker rival and contemporary of Khāravela. (*O. B. I*, p. 278).

1. *J. B. O. R. S.* XIII, p. 228.
2. *Ibid.*

"I can see 'Yavanarāja' as read by Jayaswal, and of his 'Dimata' the '*ma*' is quite legible."[1] Finally, Jayaswal and Banerji jointly stated that '*ma*' could be distinctly read and the first and the third syllable could be made out with great difficulty.[2]

In line 8 of the inscription the word 'Yavanarāja' can be clearly read, but in the next word nothing is visible except a trace of the letter '*ma*'[3]. The restoration of the name 'Dimata' is, therefore, purely conjectural and as such cannot be accepted. Scholars like R. P. Chanda and Ray Chaudhuri are not prepared to agree with this arbitrary restoration and while the former questions "what evidence is there to show that this Demetrius can be no other than the son and successor of Euthydemos of Bactria ?"[4] the latter states that "even if the reading Dimata be correct, the reference may be to Diyumeta or Diomedes (Whitehead-*Indo Greek Coins* - P. 36) and not necessarily to Demetrius"[5]. It may be pointed out that Diyumeta and Diomedes belonged to the house of Eukratides and hence, their activities cannot be extended as far as Pāṭali-putra and Mathurā, they being confined to the North-west part of India (Gandhara).[6]

The name of the Yavanarāja in the *Hāthiśgumpā Inscription* cannot conclusively be regarded either as Demetrius or as Diomedes, because it is impossible now to make out any satisfactory restoration of the name from the inscription. Recently Jagannath[7] has revived the theory of

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1. *Acta Orientalia*, I. p. 27.
2. *E, I.* X . pp. 76 and 84.
3. See Appendix.
4. *I. H. Q.* V. p. 594.
5. *P. H. A. I.* 1950, p. 420, note.
6. W. W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 315 and *C. H. I.* I. p. 55 .
7. *A Comprehensive History of India*. II, p. 112.

Jayaswal and has attempted to prove that the Yavanarāja of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* is no other than the Indo-Greek king Demetrius. He argues that "The most decisive piece of evidence is the mention of the Greek invader who hastily retreated to Mathurā on learning of the advance of Khāravela's army to Rājagriha. It was only once that the Greek armies marched into the Ganges valley and penetrated as far as the metropolis of Pāṭaliputra. This invasion is referred to in the Mahābhāṣya as an event of the recent past i. e. before the rule of Pushyamitra commenced. From the '*Yuga Purāṇa*' also we, learn that 'viciously valiant' Greeks had to beat a hasty retreat on account of a deadly war having broken out amongst them. There can be no doubt that the reference is to the invasion of India by Demetrius who had to hasten back on account of the appearance of his rival Eukratides."[1] But Jagannath's arguments are based on various inferences which require careful scrutiny. He points out that the invasion of Demetrius took place before the accession of Puṣyamitra and that Khāravela ascended the throne twelve years before Puṣyamitra's accession. The next inference of Jagannath is that the hero of the Greek army referred to by Patañjalī and '*Yuga Purāṇa*' was Demetrius, the son of Euthydemos, and he further assumes that Puṣyamitra's accession to the throne, Khāravela's invasion of Rājagriha, and Demetrius' retreat from Madhyadeśa are all simultaneous events in history. It has already been said on the basis of *Yuga Purāṇa*, that the viciously valiant Yavanas reduced Sāketa, Pañchāla and Mathurā and reached as far as Pāṭaliputra, during the time when the Maurya king Vijaya, the brother and successor of Śāliśuka was ruling over Magadha.[1] Puṣyamitra Suṅga by that time, was out of picture, as his coming to power took place after two generations of

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1 See *Supra*. Ch. V.

kings. If the invasion and the retreat of the Yavanas be associated with Khārave'a's attack on Rājagriha, the Yavanarāja of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* might be supposed to be Demetrius. But in that case the identification of Bahasatimita of the Inscription, either with Vijaya or with Puṣyamitra Suñga will be unwarranted. The supposition that the invasion of the Yavanas referred to by the *Yuga Purāṇa*, as well as, by Patañjalī, took place at the time of Khāravela's campaign against Magadha is quite uncalled for, firstly because the name of the Yavana king in Line 8 cannot be restored with any amount of certainty and secondly because the king Bahasatimita of Magadha mentioned in Line 12 cannot be identified with Puṣyamitra Suñga. As pointed above, Bṛhaspatimitra (Bahastimita) was a king of the first century B. C. referred to in several epigraphs of the period and known from some of his coins.[1] He can on no account be pushed back to the Ist. quarter of the second century B. C. when the Yavanas (Demetrius) invaded Madhyadeśa. So the Yavana king of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* must be later than and distinct from Demetrius, and he must also be placed sometimes in the second half of the first century B. C. We know of the Yavanas (Indo-Grecks) penetrating as far as the territories of the Sātavāhanas even as late as the second century A. D. when they were crushed by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī (106 A. D.—130 A. D.)[2] It is therefore not impossible that a Yavana king had proceeded upto Mathurā in the second half of the first century B. C. It was during this time that the Indo-Greek kings belonging to the house of Euthydemos were lingering in Eastern Punjab[3]; they were Zoilus, Apolophenes. Dionysius, Nicias and Hippostatas whose coins are found in considerable number in that region.[4] The

1. See *Supra.*
2. *Nāsik Cave Inscription* of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulamāvi *E. I.* VIII, pp. 60 f.
3. *A comprehensive History of India*—pp. 177 f.
4. *Ibid.*

Yavanarāja of Khāravela's Inscription might possibly be any one of these kings, but nothing definite can be said about this so long as new data are available to throw further light on the identity of this Yavana king.

Nandarāja.

The account of king Nanda in Lines 6 and 12 of the *Hāthigumphā Inscription*-has already been discussed in Chapter IV, where it has been pointed out with all coherent reasons that he is no other than Mahāpadmananda of the Nanda dynasty. It has further been shown there that he excavated an aqueduct in Kalinga some time before his death in 334 B. C.[1] The Line 6 states that Khāravela enlarged the aqueduct in his 5th regnal year after a lapse of 300 years (*Tivasasata*) since its excavation by king Nanda. Scholars like Luders[2] and V. A. Smith[3] take the expression '*Tivasasata*' as 103 years and according to Sten Konow[4] and R. C. Majumdar[5] it represents a reckoning of an era. Sten Konow postulated it to be a reckoning in the Mahāvīra era, while Majumdar points it out as a Hindu era commencing from 458 B. C. as mentioned by Alberuni. Alberuni, however, states that the era which commences in 458 B. C. is known as the Harṣavardhana era[6] and Majumdar suggests a correction of Harṣavardhana as Nandavardhana.[7] The correction suggested by R. C. Majumdar is accepted by Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji, and according to that view the aqueduct referred to in Line 6

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1. See *Supra* p. 229.
2. *E. I.* X Appendix pp. 160-161.
3. *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, p. 207, note 2.
4. *Acta Orientalia* I pp. 24–26.
5. *J. B. O. R. S.* IX. pp. 417-18.
6. Sachau *Alberuni* II, 5-7.
7. *J. B. O. R. S.* IX, *Ibid.*

was excavated in 355 B. C. (458—103)[1]. It may be said that both Jayaswal and Banerji in 1917 strongly criticised Lūder's opinion for *Tivasasata* as 103 years, and explicitly declared that it "can only mean 300 and not 103 years"[2]. But both of them changed their views in 1927, as well as, in 1929-30, when they asserted the view that *Tivasasata* means 103 years, representing a date of the Nanda era.[3] To support this view they referred to the *Yedarave Inscription* of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, which states "Having said, why should the glory of the kings Vikramāditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer ? he with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (era) which has the name of Śaka and made that (era) which has the Chālukya counting"[4]. It may be pointed out that neither in the work of Alberuni, nor in the Yedarave record, there has been an explicit mention of a Nanda era, and no historical document of ancient India, so far known, has been dated in such an era. So the suggestion that the expression *Tivasasata* reckons a date in the Nanda era is highly conjectural and arbitrary.

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1. This view is based on various misconceptions. Alberuni's era of 458 B. C. is no where mentioned as a Nanda era, nor does Nandavardhana who is said to have started this era belong to the Nanda dynasty. History knows of one Nandivardhana (not Nandavardhana) who belonged to the Śaiśunāga family and flourished sometimes between 386 B. C. (the date of 2nd Buddhist Council when Kākavarṇī-Kālāśoka was on the throne) and 362 B. C. (when Mahāpadmananda usurped the royalty of Magadha). According to this view the aqueduct in Kaliñga was excavated 103 years after 458 B. C. and then it was enlarged by Kharavela in his 5th regnal year. Such assumption is not warranted by the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription*, where it is clearly mentioned that "Khāravela in his 5th year caused the aqueduct that had been excavated by king Nanda 300 years (*Tivasasata*) before, to flow into the capital through Tanasuli".
2. *J. B. O. R. S.* III, p. 143. Also for R. D. Banerji's opinion—See *ibid*, pp. 486 f.
3. *J. B. O. R. S.* XIII, pp. 237 f and E. *I.* XX, p. 75.
4. *Bombay Gazetteer* I, pt. ii, p. 477.

'*Tivasasata*' in Line 6 cannot be 103 years because this rendering goes against historical facts. It has already been pointed out that Mahāpadmananda excavated the aqueduct before 334 B. C., say in cir. 335 B. C. If '*Tivasasata*' be taken as 103 years, the time of the extension of the aqueduct by Khāravela would be in 232 B. C. and this being his 5th regnal year Khāravela would be taken to have ascended the throne of Kaliñga in 237 B. C. As this was the time when a Kumāra Viceroy of emperor Aśoka was ruling over Kaliñga, there can be no place for a Khāravela in the annals of Kaliñga of the same period. Moreover, in Line 16 of the Inscription, 105 has been expressed as '*Pānatariya sata*' and if the same inscription would have meant 103 in Line 6, there would have been an expression like '*Titariya Satavasa*' and not '*Tivasasata*'. The languge of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* being akin to Pāli its numerical expressions are in conformity with the rules of Pāli language and grammar. In the *Jātakas*[1] we find the expression '*Pañchahi sakaṭa satehi*' meaning 500 carts in connection with the episode of Tapassu and Bhallika. The *Chullaniddesa*[2] a work of the first century B. C. while giving the number of Jātakas as 500, expresses it as '*Pañcha Jātaka satāni*'. In the light of this the expression '*Tivasasata*' must be 300 years and not 103 years. In Line 11 it has been stated that Khāravela shattered the territorial confederacy of the Tāmil States that was in existence for 1300 years *(Terasavasasata)*. Although this 1300 years is taken here as a round number, the confederacy of the Tamil States which remained unconquered by Mahāpadmananda, Chandragupta and Aśoka, must be taken to have existed for a very long time before Khāravela. This '*Terasavasasata*' means 1300 years and in this analogy '*Tivasasata*' must be taken as 300 years.

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1. *J.* I. p. 80.
2. *Chullaniddesa* II, 80.
   This is an old commentary on the *Pārāyaṇavagga of the Suttanipīta.*

B. M. Barua reads an expression '*Satadasalenasataṁ*' towards the end of Line 14 of the *Hāthiguṁphā Inscription.*[1] This reading has an element of conjecture as no other epigraphist except Barua has ever given such a reading of the passage. This may be read as "...*Jivadehasayikā* .."[2] and by no means as '*Satadasalena Sataṁ*'. K. C. Panigrahi adopting Barua's version argues, 'The compound '*Satadasalena Sataṁ*' admits of only one interpretation, viz., 117 caves but not 1700 caves, becuase the latter interpretation would land us in an absurd proposition that Khāravela and his relatives excavated 1700 caves in the Kumārī Parvata which is indentified with the tiny hillock of Udaigiri. Similarly the compound '*Tivasasata*' can admit of only one interpretation, viz., 103 years, but not 300 years".[3] But as the reading '*Satadasalena Sataṁ*' being a conjectural restoration is unacceptable, the theory based on it must be regarded as untenable.

It is, therefore, not unreasonable to take '*Tivasasata*' as meaning 300 years and hence, Khāravela's 5th regnal year would correspond to Cir. 35 B. C. the date when he extended the aqueduct of king Nanda.

Sātakarṇi.

Besides making refernce to Bahasatimita and Nanda rāja the *Hāthiguṁphā Inscription* speaks of one Sātakarṇi, who was a king of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Line 4 of the Inscription states that in the 2nd year of his reign Khāravela without caring for Sātakarṇi sent to the West a large army consisting of horse, elephant, infantry and chariot and struck terror to the city of Asika (Assaka or Aśmaka)[4]. Thus, the identification

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1. *O. B. I.* 1929, p. 25.
2. See Appendix.
3. *J. A. S.* XIX, pp. 26-27.
4. See Appendix.

and the date of this Sātakarṇi are essential for ascertaining the time of Khāravela.

King Sātakarṇi of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription*, has been identified by Bühler[1] with Śrī Sātakarṇī of the *Sāñchi-Inscription* and of *Nānāghāt Inscription*, as well as, with Sātakarṇi I of the *Purāṇas*. Rapson[2] supports the view of Bühler as regards the identification of Sātakarṇi of the *Hāthīgumphā* and *Nānāghāt Inscriptions* and the *Purāṇas*. But according to him Sātakarṇi of the Sāñchi record may be 'one of several Sātakarṇis who appear later in the puranic list. Jayaswal and Banerji[3] identify Sātakarṇi of the Hāthī-guṃphā record with "the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, the husband of queen Nāyanikā of the *Nānāghāt Inscription*. But R. P. Chanda[4] suggests identification of Sātakarṇi of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscripiion* with Sātakarṇi II of the Purānic genealogy. Ray Chaudhuri[5] is inclined to identify Sātakarṇi I of the Purāṇas with Sātakarṇi, the successor of Kṛṣṇa (Kanha) and Sātakarṇi of the Hāthīgumphā record.

In the genealogical list of the Āndhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty of the Purāṇas, Sātakarṇi I is found as the 3rd king and Sātakarṇi II as the 6th king of the dynasty.[6] The founder of the dynasty named Simuka or Sisuka is known to have commenced his rule after assassinating the king Suśarman Kāṇvāyana and putting an end to the remnant of the Suñga power in 73 B. C. Simuka ruled for a period of 23 years[7]

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1. *E. I.* II, pp. 88-89.
2. *Catalogue of Indian Coins* pp. xvii xxiv.
3. *E. I.* XX, p. 83.
4. *I. A.* 1919, p. 217 and *M. A. S. I.* I.
5. *P. H. A. I.* 1950, p. 415.
6. *D. K. A.* pp. 36 and 39.
7. *Ibid*, p. 38.

and was succeeded by his brother Kanha (Kṛṣṇa) who reigned for 18 years.[1] After Kanha Sāta'-arṇi I, the son of Simuka ascended the throne and ruled for a period of ten years.[2] The *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* mentions king Sātakarṇi as the Lord of the territory to the West of Kaliñga and also as having political influence over the Deccan as far as the city of Asika. This is corroborated by the *Nānāghāt Inscription* of queen Nāyanikā, where Sātakarṇi has been referred to as the Lord of the Deccan (*Dakhiṇapathapati*).[3] The *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* speaks of him in connection with the invasion of the city of Asika by the army of Kaliñga in the 2nd regnal year of Khāravela. But the name of Sātakarṇi finds no mention in the account of the 4th regnal year when the Cheti emperor despatched his army to the very heart of the Sātavāhana realm and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas. Khāravela's victory over them necessarily implies the defeat of the Sātavāhanas as well, because without traversing the kingdom of the latter the army of Kaliñga could not have reached the territories of the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas, who were very likely the protectorates of Sātakarṇi. In view of this great achievement the panegyrist would have definitely mentioned the name of king Śrī Sātakarṇi in the accounts of the 4th regnal year of Khāravela. Obviously Sātakarṇi, the performer of

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1. *Ibid.* According to *Matsya*, *Vayu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* Kṛṣṇa ruled for a pariod of 18 years, but the later Purāṇas lika *Bhaviṣya* and *Viṣṇu* ascribe 10 years to him. We prefer the earlier accouut.
2. According to the *Purāṇas* Śrī Sātakarṇi is the son of Kṛṣṇa. But epigraphic evidence suggests that he was a son of Simuka. Kṛṣṇa's name has been omitted from the family group mentioned in the Nānāghāt record and the name of Simuka, as well as, that of the father of Sātakarṇi's queen are conspicuously mentioned there.
3. *Arch. Surv. West. India*, V, pp. 60 f; 86 f.

two horse sacrifices,[1] was no longer living in that year to protect his own territory from the aggression of Khāravela.

As Sātakarṇi was ruling in the 2nd regnal year of Khāravela and was not living in the 4th regnal year, he very likely died in the third year which corresponds to Cir. 37 B.C. In this consideration the dates of the first three Sātavāhana kings may tentatively be fixed as :

Simuka	Cir. 88 B. C.—65 B. C.
Kṛṣṇa or Kanha	Cir. 65 B. C.—47 B. C.
Sātakarṇi I	Cir. 47 B. C.—37 B. C.

The overthrow of the Suñga and Kāṇva powers, therefore, took place in the 15th regnal year of Simuka.

The above discussion makes it clear that Sātakarṇi I, the son of Simuka and the husband of Nāyanikā is identical with Sātakarṇi of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription*, and that the second regnal year of Khāravela very likely coincides with the 9th regnal year of Sātakarṇi.

Plaeography, Language and Art.

The Palaeography of the *Nāsik Cave Inscription* of the time of Kṛṣṇa[2], of the *Nānāghāt Cave Figure Label Inscription* of the time of Sātakarṇi I[3] and of the *Nānāghāt Cave Inscription* of queen Nāyanikā[4], wife of Sātakarṇi I, bear much resemblance with that of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription*. Letters like *Va, Pa, Da, Cha,* are becoming triangular in all these

1. *Ibid.* Also see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 187.
2. *E. I.* VIII, p. 93.
3. *Arch. Surv. West. India*, V, p. 64.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 60 f; 86 f.

inscriptions, and if in case of the Hāthīgumphā they develop a kind of sheif, that may be taken as a local variation. R. P Chanda[1] has pointed out a few such cases of variation between the palaeography of the Nānāghāt and Hāthīgumphā. But he also agrees with the fact that they might as well be recognised as contemporaneous local variations. D. C. Sircar[2] opines that palaeographically the Hāthīgumphā record is slightly later than the Nānāghāt record and also that the letters of the *Sāñchi Inscription* of Sātakarṇi resemble the script of the Hāthīgumphā record. But he is inclined to suggest that "if this slight development is over-looked we may identify both these Sātakarṇis with Sātakarṇi I. Earlier epigraphists like Būhler and Rapson did not fail to recognise the close similarity between the script of the *Nānāghāt* and the *Hāthīgumphā Inscriptions* and Rapson making reference to Būhler states "Epigraphic considerations show that the *Hāthīgumphā' Inscription* of Khāravela and *Nānāghāt Inscription* of Nāganikā, the queen of Sātakarṇi, belonged to the same period as the *Nāsik Inscription* of Krishṇa."[3]

Thus on palaeographical consideration also there is no difficulty in taking Sātakarṇi as the contemporary of Khāravela.

The language and the literary style of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* further indicate that the record was compo-

1. *I. H. Q.* V. pp. 600-01.
2. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 207.
3. *Cambridge History of India* I, p. 35. In the Foot note Rapson refers to Buhler's *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 39.
These epigraphists, however, consider the Nānīghāt and the Hāthīgumphā records as belonging to the 2nd century B. C. because they were then inbued with the idea of the so called Maurya era.

sed sometimes during the post Suñga period. The language of Aśoka's edicts, as well as, that of the inscriptions of the Suñgas is Māgadhi Prākrit, but the language of Khārvela's Inscription is akin to Pāli, and this Pāli trend in the epigraphic literature of Eastern India indicates a period later than the second century B. C. when old Māgadhi was the official language. Barua[1] has pointed out a few instances of the development of Indian epigraphic language indicating "a march of the official language of India from a state of old Māgadhi towards Sānskrit through a Pāli stage reached in the language of Ānanda's *Sāñchi Gateway Inscription* of Sātakarṇi's time and that of the old *Brāhmī Inscriptions*" of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri. The style of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* which represents an advanced form of versification and of rhythmic prose also points to a late date. The use of the *Kāvya* style in that inscription accompanied with rhythmic quality, elegant expression and well-balanced alleterations, reveal an important land-mark in the development of Indian literature. It is definitely an advance on the plain and simple writing of the Aśokan edicts and also of the inscriptions of the Suñgas. The high attainment of this ornate *Kāvya* style is noticed in the Sātavāhana records of the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi[2] (second century A. D.). Thus the Inscription of Khāravela, so far as its style is concerned, indicats a new development and may be placed in between Maurya and Suñga records on the one hand, and the later Sātavāhana and the Western Kṣatrāpa records on the other. Barua suggests that the Inscriptions of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri anticipate the Pāli pose style of *Milindapāñha*.[3]

1. *O. B. I.* p. 160.
2. *I. C.* IV, pp. 240—47.
3. *O. B. I.*, p. 172.

Thus, both the language and the style corroborate the historical finds discussed above about dating the inscription in the later part of the first century B. C.

The Mañchapurī caves in the Udayagiri may be placed very close to the time of Khāravela as the upper storey of it contains records stating that it was caused to be excavated by the Chief queen of Khāravela and in the lower storey similar records are also found revealing the fact that the main and the side blocks of it were the works of Mahārāja Kudepa and Prince Vaḍukha, repectively, who were apparently the son and grandson of Khāravela.[1] The relief sculptures on the rock in between the two storeys have all been defaced but the sculptures engraved in the ground floor are in well preserved condition. The plastic treatment of these sculptures with their emotional appeal addressing the spectator in three quarter profile are considered by authoritative art-critics as considerably posterior to the sculptures of Bharhut.[2] The sculptured gateway of Bharhut which contains the inscription of king Visadeva,[3] the feudatory of the Suñgas, is ascribed to the first quarter of the first century B. C.[4], i. e. towards the end of the Suñga rule So the relief art of the lower storey of the Mañchapurī cave of the time of Khāravela's successors may be assigned to the last quarter of the same century. In this consideration the above discussion regarding the date of Khāravela sounds very reasonable.

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1. Seee *infra.*
2. Vide the remarks of Stella Kramrisch in *O. B. I. pp.* 307 f. and the views of Marshall, *Ibid,* pp. 303 f; also *C. H. I.* I pp. 638—42.
3. *Select Inscription,* I., p. 89.
4. Vide *Proceedings of I. H. C.*, 1943, pp. 109-16.

In the light of this discussion the following dates for Khāravela are taken to be appoximately correct.

Foundation of the Chedi rule in Kaliñga	Cir. 73 B. C.
Birth of Khāravela	Cir 64 B. C.
His rule as the Crown Prince ...	Cir. 49-40 B. C.
His consecration as Mahārāja ...	Cir. 40 B. C.
The last known date of his career ...	Cir. 27 B. C.

II

ANCESTRY OF KHĀRAVELA

The first line of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* declares that 'Khāravela heightens the glory of the Cheti (Chedi) royal dynasty', (*Chetirājavasavadhanena*), which implies that he belongs to the Cheti royal family. The last line of the same inscription reveals that he is a descendant of Rājarṣi Vasu. The *Mahābhārata* mentions one Uparichara Vasu[1] who was 5th in descent from Kuru and ruled over the Chedi country. His five sons are mentioned in the epic as the founder of five lines of kings. Uparichara Vasu has been identified by scholars with the Chetiya king Upachara of the *Chetiya Jātaka*[2] whose five sons are credited with founding the cities of Hathipura, Assapura, Sihapura, Uttara Pañchāla and Daddarapura.[3] Thus the Chedis are an ancient people and even in *ṚgVeda* they have been mentioned along with their

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1. *Mbh. Ādi Parva*, lxiii, 1–2.
2. *J.* II, pp. 454–461.
3. The names of the five sons are known from the *Mahābhārata* (*Ādi Parva*, lxiii, 30) and the *Purāṇas* (*Viṣṇu* iv, 19) as Bṛhadratha, Pratyagraha, Kuśaṁba alias Maṇivāhana, Yadu alias Lalittha, or Matsya, and Mavella. "The eldest son Bṛhadratha took Magadha, and founded the famous Bhāradratha dynasty there. Kuśa or Kuśaṁba obviously had Kauśāṁbī, Pratyagraha may have taken Chedi and Yadu Karuṣa. It seems probable that the 5th kingdom was Matsya". (Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.* p. 118)

king Kasu Chaidya.[1] According to Prof. Rapson[2] the Vedic Kasu Chaidya is the same as Vasu of the epic.[3]

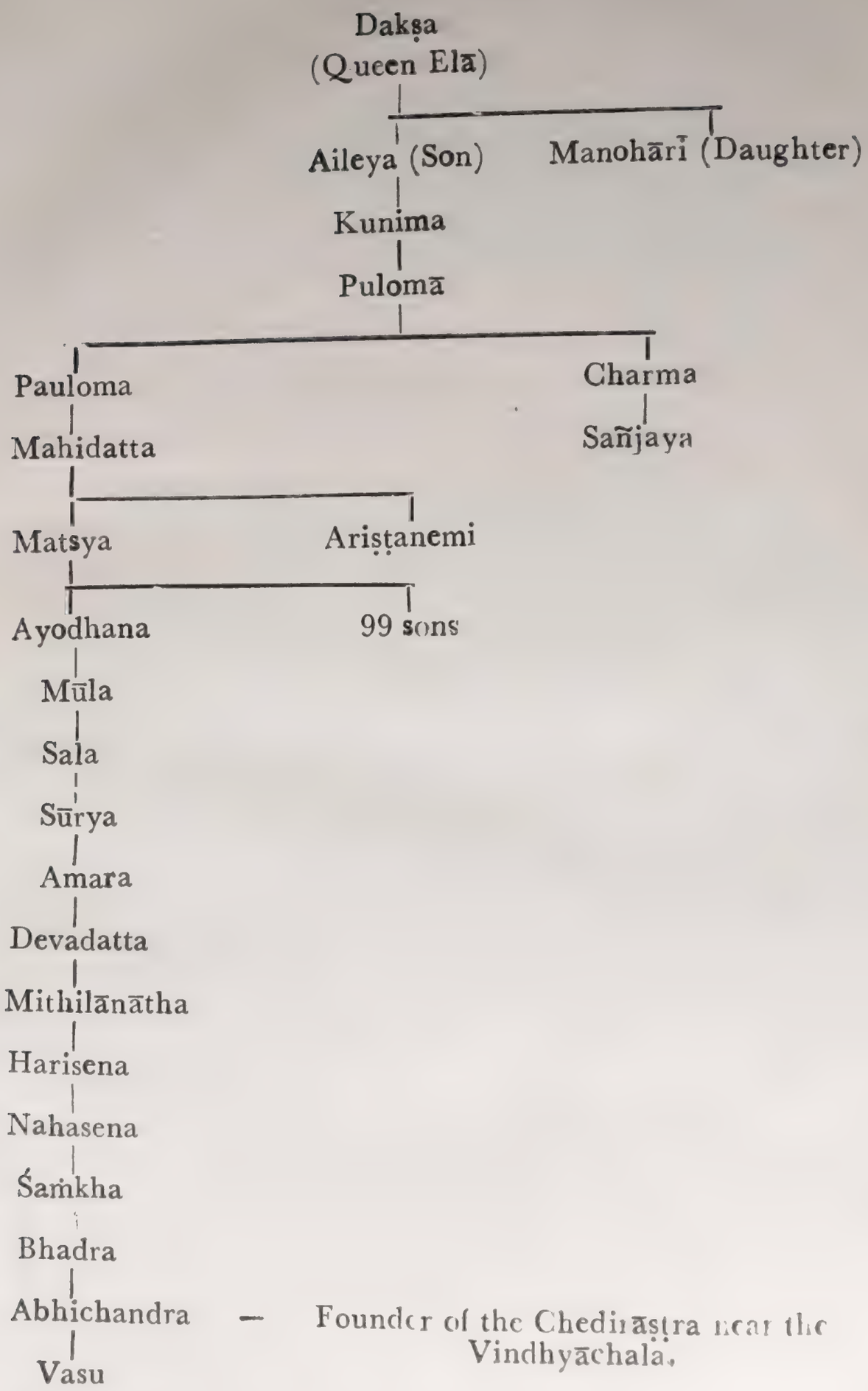
The *Chetiya Jātaka* presents the following genealogy of the Chedi kings.

Mahāsammata
|
Roja
|
Vera Roja
|
Kalyāṇa
|
Vera Kalyāṇa
|
Uposatha
|
Māndhātā
|
Vera Māndhātā
|
Chara
|
Upachara or Apachara

But the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇā* of Śrī Jinasenāchārya[4] preserves another tradition of the early Chedi family and gives the following genealogy, which differs from that of the *Chetiya Jātaka.*

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1. *R. V*, VIII, 5, 37-38.
2. *C. H. I.* I, p. 276 note-2 (Indian Reprint).
3. It may be pointed out that Vasu Upachara of the *Mahābhārata* did not belong to the Chedi dynasty, he being the fourth descendant of Sudhanvan, the son of Kuru (Pargiter *A. I. H. T.* p. 118). He is said to have conquered the kingdom of Chedi and obtained the title of Chaidyoparichra, which means the over-comer of the Chaidyas and not Uparichara, the Chaidya. (Pargiter – *Ibid*).
4. *Harivaṁśa*, xvii, 1-38.
& *J. B. O. R. S.* XV. pp. 277 f.


Dakṣa
(Queen Elā)
Aileya (Son)
Manohārī (Daughter)
Kunima
Pulomā
Pauloma
Charma
Mahidatta
Sañjaya
Matsya
Ariṣṭanemi
Ayodhana
99 sons
Mūla
Sala
Sūrya
Amara
Devadatta
Mithilānātha
Harisena
Nahasena
Śaṁkha
Bhadra
Abhichandra — Founder of the Chedirāṣṭra near the Vindhyāchala.
Vasu

King Vasu of the Jaina literature is regarded as a famous king for his learning and wisdom and tradition has it that when Nārada and Parvata entered into controversy over the meaning of the Vedic term '*Ajairjaṣṭavya*' Parvata took the help of Vasu, who interpreted the expression in the sense of animal sacrifices.[1] This indicates that king Vasu was an upholder of Vedic ritualism and the epithet 'Rājarṣi' applied to him does not appear incompatible.[2] This celebrated king Vasu is very likely referred to by Khāravela in Line 17 of his inscription as his remote predecessor.[3]

According to this tradition the Chedirāṣṭra was founded in the Vindhya region by Abhichanda, the father of Vasu.[4] But Vasu, the immediate successor of Abhichandra being more famous and renowned, Khāravela considered him the progenitor of the Chedi dynasty to which he belonged, and called his family as Vasukula.

The Chedi country being located in the Vindhya range was not very far off Kaliñga and if the *Vessantara Jātaka*[5] is to be believed, the capital of the Cheta (Chedi) Kingdom was at a distance of only ten Yojanas from Dunnivittha a Brāhmin village of Kaliñga. The *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* states that the capital of the Chedirāṣṭra founded by Abhichandra in the Vindhya region was Suktimatīpurī

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1. *Harivaṁśa*, xvii 94-106.
2. The fact that Vasu was an upholder of Vedic sacrifice and ritualism and Khāravela was a Jaina may not preclude the possibility of the former being a remote ancestor of the latter.
3. See the opinion of K. P. Jain – *J. B. O. R.* S. XV. 1929 pp. 275 – 279.
4. विन्ध्यपृष्ठेऽभिचन्द्रेण चेदिराष्ट्रमधिष्ठितं ।
   शुक्तिमत्यास्तटेऽधायि नाम्नाशुक्तिमती पुरी ॥
   Harivaṁśa, xvii, 36.
5. *J.* VI. pp. 514–21

situated on the banks of the river Suktimatī,[1] identified with the river Ken by Pargiter, who locates the city of Śuktimati at the neighbourhood of Banda.[2]

Regarding the ancestry of Khāravela another problem has been raised by scholars on the basis of the expression '*Aira*' in the first line of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription.*[3]

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1. According to the *Chetiya Jātaka* (*J.* III, pp. 454-61), the capital of the Chetiya country was Sothivatīnagara which is without doubt the same as Śuktimatī of *Harivaṁśa* xvii, 35), and Suktisāhvaya of the *Mahābhārata* (*Vana Parva* xx. 50; and *Aśvamedha Parva*, xxxiii, 2). The epic also states that the capital of the Chedi viṣaya was on the bank of the river Śukimati (*Ādi Parva*, liii, 35),
2. *J. A. S. B.*, 18 5, p. 255; and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* pp. 359 f.

   Accordingly Pargiter places the Chedi territory along the South bank of the Yumnā from the Chambal on the N. W. as far as Karwi in the S, E., the Southern limit being the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand. In the medieval period the Chedi territory is known to have receded further to the N. W., the river Narmadā then being its Southern frontier. (*J. A. S. B.*, 1895, p. 253).
3. A Sānskrit manuscript in Oriya script named *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* which is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, contains seven interesting verses regading king Aira (Manuscript leaf B. Obverse), These verses have been quoted by Dr Jayaswal in *J. B. O. R. S.* III, p. 482, by Dr. Sten Konow in *Acta Orientalia* I, and by Dr. Barua in *O. B. I.* p. 183. All these scholars have placed uncritical reliance on the contents of these verses although those are contrary to known facts of history. The verses may be summarised as follows.—In ancient time there was a Buddhist king in Utkala named Aira who defeated Nandarāja of Magadha, a follower of Vedic religion, and so as a destroyer of Vedism became a great friend of Aśoka. Being directed by a divine voice (*Deva-vāṇi*) king Aira transferred his capital from Kosalanagara to Ekaprastara where he built his residence on Khaṇḍagiri.—The spurious nature of these verseas is quite clear, and the Pundit responsible for it seems to have got the materials from the writings of Śrī Pyarimchan Acharya who published his History of Orissa (*Oḍisāra Itihāsa*) in Oriya in 1879, to which he added something of his own fancy.

This expression is also found in the *Mañchapurī Cave Inscription* of Kudepasīrī, who apparently was a successor of Khāravela. R. L. Mitra[1], who took 'Aira' as the name of the king of Kaliñga connected him with the Purānic Īlā. Following him Jayaswal[2] took the word as a dynastic expression and explained it to be a term denoting the lineage of the Chedi king Aira from Īlā and proposed identification with the Purānic Aila, one of the main dynastic divisions to which the Chedis belonged. K. P. Jain on the other hand is inclined to connect 'Aira' of the *Hāthīgumphā Inicription* with Elā, the queen of Dakṣa, the remote ancestor of Vasu as mentioned in the Jaina *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*.[3]

It may be pointed out that 'Ailas' of the *Purāṇas* belong to the Lunar Kṣatriya race, who widely defused in different branches all over Northern India[4]. If the expression 'Aira' of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* be taken to be the same as Aila, the Cheti dynasty to which Khāravela and Kudepasīrī belonged may be associated with this Lunar Kṣatriya race of the purānic tradition. But the term Aira is found as epithet not only of Khāravela and Kudepasīrī, but also of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in the *Nāsik Cave Inscription* of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi inscribed in his 22nd regnal year.[5] In the other *Nāsik Cave Inscription* of the same king, inscribed in his 19th regnal year Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is regarded as unique Brāhmaṇa (*Eka Bāhmaṇa*) implying thereby that the Sātavāhana family to which he belonged was a Brāhmin dynasty. Thus, the term 'Aira' which is used as an epithet also of the Brahmin kings cannot

1. *Antiquities of Orissa*, II.
2. *J. B. O. R. S.* XII, p. 223.
3. *J. B. O. R. S.* XV, pp. 277 f.
4. Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.* p. 118.
5. *E. I.* VIII, pp. 65 f.
6. *Ibid*, pp. 60 f.

be taken to be the same as 'Aila' denoting the Lunar Kṣatriya race. It is, therefore, more plausible to take 'Aira' as the Prakrit expression of '*Ārya*', a term of honour meaning 'noble'.

Both the *Hāthīgumphā* and the *Mañchapurī Cave Inscriptions* declare Khāravela and kudespasīrī, not only as Aira, but also as Mahāmeghavāhana. The word 'Mahāmeghavāhana', literally means, one whose vehicle is the great cloud, which is a synonym of Indra or Mahendra. Mahāmeghavāhana appears to be a family name, like Sātavāhana and to all probability it refers to the ancestor, who was responsible for the rise of the family to power. The inscriptions indicate that Khāravela and kudepasīrī bore this epithet as a respect to the memory of their predecessor who established the authority of the family in Kaliñga. Rulers having name endings 'Vāhana' are not unknown in the annals of ancient Indian History and we find kings like Dadhivāhana,[1] Nahavāhana, Sālivāhana[2], Maṇivāhana[3] and Naravāhana[4] in Indian literature. No wonder that the founder of the Cheti royal family in Kaliñga was known as Mahāmeghavāhana who appears to have migrated from the Chedirāṣṭra to Kaliñga sometimes early in the first century B.C.

The rise of the Āndhra Sātavāhanas and the Cheti Mahāmeghavāhanas seem to be synchroneous events in history and it was possible because of the decline of the Suñga-Kāṇva powers. It may be said that in 73 B. C. when

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1. *Karakaṇḍu Chariu*; Also *Abhidhāna Rājendra.*
2. J. C. Jain, *Social Life as depicted in Jaina Canons* p. 393
3. *Mbh. Ādi Parva*, lxiii 30.
4. *Harivaṁśa* and *Jaina Paṭṭāvali.*

Simuka murdered the last Kāṇva ruler Suśarman and destroyed the remnant of the Suñga power, the grand father of Khāravela, who was presumably known as Mahāmeghavāhana established his authority in Kaliñga and laid the foundation of the Cheti (Chedi) rule, which ushered in a new Chapter in her history. The father of Khāravela who was the second king of the dynasty appears to have died a premature death in C. 49 B.C. when Khāravela was 15 years old, and thus was a minor. The young prince assumed the reins of Government as the Crown Prince and a regency was apparently set up to assist and advise the minor ruler in the affiars of administration, till he completed the 24th year of his age to be crowned as king.

III

CAREER OF KHĀRAVELA

His early life and education

Khāravela as shown above, was born in cir. 4 B.C. in the third generation of the Cheti ruling dynasty of Kaliñga. The panegyrist of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* states that Khāravela, who had a handsome brown complexion (*siri kaḍāra sarīra vatā*) was possessed of various auspicious signs on his body and was gifted with many good qualities of head and heart. During his boyhood he was very carefully brought up with the view to furnishing him with kingly attributes and equipping him with the virtues of a conqueror and administrator. The games he played were quite likely aimed at training him for his regal activities while at the same time he was given instructions in Writing (*Lekha*), Coinage (*Rūpa*), Accountancy (*Gaṇaṇā*), Law (*Vavahāra*) and Administrative procedure (*Vidhi*) to make him proficient in state-craft. Writing or *Lekha*, that constitutes the curriculum of the Prince does not refer to mere art of writing but to royal correspondence which has been elaborated by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*.[1] *Rūpa* of the curriculum is equivalent to *Rūpya* meaning currency.[2] The *Arthaśāstra* also speaks of an officer known as *Rūpadarśaka*, meaning examiner of coins.[3] *Gaṇanā*, i.e. accountancy is also

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1. *Arthaśāstra* II, 9. 28.
2. *E. I.* XX, 81.
3. *Arthaśāstra* II, 12. 8.

referred to by the same authority[1] in the sense of account and estimate of public finance. *Vavahāra* (*Vyavahāra*) is judicial administration in accordance with the established law and conventions and Kauṭilya[2] also speaks of the judicial procedure as *Vyāvahārika śāstra*. *Vidhi* has been used by Kauṭilya as rule, such as *Kriyāvidhi* meaning the rule of action and Barua[3] thinks that *Vidhi* in the Hāthīgumphā text is a synonym for *Niyama*[4] or *Charitra* or *Saṁsthā* or *Dharmaśāstra*.[5] The Line five of the inscription throws further light on the education and proficiency of Khāravela in the art of music. Thus, it appears clear that along with *Lekha*, *Rūpa*, *Gaṇaṇā*, *Vavahāra* and *Vidhi* the curriculum of the prince included the *Gandharva Lore*.

His Yauvarājya

The inscription reveals that Khāravela being proficient in all arts (*Sava vijā*) began to rule as a Crown prince at the age of fifteen. It may be pointed out that no where in the *Dharmaśāstra* and the *Nitiśāstra* literature an age

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1. *Ibid* II, 7- 25.
2. *Ibid*. III, 1-58.
3. *OBI*-245.
4. *Arthaśāstra* I. 5, 2.
5. *Ibid* III, 1, 58.

The *Lalitavistara* also gives almost the same account as the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* regarding the education of Prince Siddhārtha in Chapters x and xii. The Chspter x declares that the system of education then prevailing among the people consisted of *Saṁkhyā Lipi*, *Gaṇaṇā* and *Dhāturatna*. The passage runs thus :

शास्त्राणियानि प्रचरन्ति मनुष्यलोके ।
संख्या लिपिश्च गणनानि च धातुरत्नं ॥

(p. 142, Ed. R. L. Mitra).

This almost corresponds to the curriculum of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* where, however, Law and Administration constitute two additional subjects.

limit is given for anointing a Crown prince and so the age fifteen suggested by the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* for Khāravela's rule as a Crown prince, is to be taken as a special case for him. The silence in the record regarding the rule of the Crown prince along with the king (his father) appe rs significant. The inevitable supposition is that the father of Khāravela died a premature death by the time the prince was only fifteen years old and thus, at this minor age he was called upon to bear the brunt of administration as the Crown prince.[1] In that capacity he ruled over Kaliñga for a period of nine years till he completed the 24th year of his age when his coronation was performed.

This kind of administration by a Crown prince, is not unknown in ancient Indian polity and the Jaina *Āyarañga Sūttaṁ*[2] refers to a form of Government termed as *'Yuvarājyāṇi'* which according to K. P. Jayaswal means a Government like the one over which Khāravela presided before his coronation. He remarks, "Legally such a period of rule was considered as interregnum. Government was probably in the hands of some council of Regency, the

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1. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* the old king Daśaratha is said to have made up his mind to anoint Rāma as Yuvarāja and himself to retire with the consent of his people. In the *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa* he declares :

   अहोऽस्मि परमा तः प्रभावश्चातुलो मम ।
   यन्मेज्येष्ठं प्रियं पुत्रं यौवराज्यस्थमिच्छथ ।

   The *Rāmāyaṇa* indicates that by the time Daśaratha sought retirement due to his decrepit age his eldest son Rāma was sufficiently grown up to shoulder the responsibility of administration and he was then a popular figure in the kingdom. But quite a different picture is presented by the *Hāthigumphā Inscription* where the prince Khāravela although eulogised as proficient in all arts was but a minor and the king could not have retired in the spirit of Daśaratha of the epic, leaving the responsibility of a newly founded realm in the hands of a minor boy.

2. Jacobi—*Āyarañga Sūttaṁ*, II – 3, 1, 10.

Sovereign being too young"[1]. It is, however, not possible to assert whether the regency was represented by a council or by some prominent persons of the royal family. We have instances in ancient Indian history of the queen mothers acting as regents during the minority of their sons. Queen mother Nāyanikā, the widow of the Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi I, for example, is known to have acted as regent of her two minor sons Vedaśri and Śaktiśri[2] and similar case may also be pointed out in the family of the Vākātakas in which the widow queen Prabhāvatīguptā assumed the administration on behalf of her minor sons Divākarasena and Dāmodarasena.[3] In this connection it may be said that in the two instances cited above, the queen-mothers virtually wielded the administrative power and dominated the political affairs of their respective kingdom. But in the case of Khāravela, although the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* remains silent about the nature of the regency, it eloquently speaks of the Crown prince as the chief personality who controlled the works of administration (*Yovarajaṁ pasāsitaṁ*).

His Coronation.

The *Yauvarājya* form of Government came to an end in circa 49 B. C. when Khāravela completed his 24th year and was anointed as Mahārāja *(Mahārāja bhisechanaṁ Pāpunāti)* and thus became the monarch of the Cheti royal dynasty of Kaliñga in its third generation.[4]

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1. *Hindu polity*, (2nd Edition) p. 88.
2. *P. H. A. I.*, (5th Edition) p. 417.
3. *Vākātaka Gupta Age* – 1954, pp. 103 f.
4. पुरिस (पुरुष) युग—obviously means (generation). Dr. Ray Chaudhuri in order to authenticate this meaning cites the expression गामो पुरुषयुगानि नवयावत्तवान्वयः from Hemachandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, viii 326.

In ancient India the completion of the 24th year of age i. e. the beginning of the 25th year was considered to be the age of entering into the wordly career. The early *Upaniṣads* indicate that this was the age when ordinarily the career of studentship was considered to be over. The *Bṛhaspatisūtra* also points out that one is to play, get education and enjoy life upto the age of 25 after which one should start earning livelihood.[1] Thus the coronation of Khāravela at the beginning of the age of 25 is in accordance with ancient Indian tradition.

The panegyrist of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* compares Khāravela at the time of his coronation with the famous king Pṛthu, the son of Veṇa. Pṛthu is regarded by the Indian Law-givers as an ideal monarch and has been given the title of *Rājā* because he pleased his subjects by benevolent administration.[2] The anointation of Pṛthu as *Rājā* is considered to be a great event and the coronation oath elicited from him is regarded as a land-mark in ancient Indian polity.[3] The comparison of Khāravela with Pṛthu indicates

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1. पञ्चविंशति वर्षं यावत् क्रीड़ा विद्यां व्यसनात् कुर्यात् ।
ऊर्ध्वं उत्तर मर्यार्जनं

(*B. S.* I 89)

Dr. Jayaswal explains the word अर्यार्जनं as engagement in Commonwealth or politicai life. (*Hindu polity*, 2nd Edition. p. 231).

2. रञ्जिताश्च प्रजास्सर्वास्तेन राजेति शब्द्यते

Mbh. Śānti Parva—lix. 125.

3. The coronation oath runs as follows :—
प्रतिज्ञामाभिरोहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा ।
पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्मइत्येव चाब्रुवत् ॥
यश्चात्र धर्म्मनीत्युक्तो दण्डनीति व्यपाश्रयः ।
तमशङ्कः करिष्यामि स्ववशेन कदाचन ॥
Śānti Parvan, Calcutta Edition, lix—106—107.
Cf. Kumbhakonam Edition, livii, 115—116.

that the former also undertook the oath at the time of his consecration to rule as an ideal monarch.

His Administration

The system of Government organised by Khāravela followed to some extent the pattern laid down by the Mauryas in Kaliñga. We have already seen that the Kauṭilyan system was carefully remodelled by emperor Aśoka in order to fit in with the political exigencies in Kaliñga. The high functionaries under Aśoka were the *Mahāmātra* and *Nagalaviohālaka* of Toṣālī and the *Rājavachanika* of Samāpā Khāravela retained the first two posts which were respectively called *Mahāmada* and *Nagara Akhadaṁsa*; they were probably the highest executive and judicial heads of the State under the king. The *Rājavachanika* was an executive officer under the *Mahāmātra* in the Aśokan hierarchy but it is difficult to trace a prototype of his in the administrative system of Khāravela. In the commemorative inscription of Tattvagumphā No. 1 we find an official called *Pādamulika* which literally means one who serves at the feet (of the king) and it very likely means the royal attendant. An officer called *Pādamulika* has also been referred to in the *Kirāri wooden Pillar inscription*[1] attributed to cir.1st centuty A. D. and this indicates that the post of *Pādamulika* was known in Eastern India during that period. The names of the high officials who served either under Khāravela or under his successor have been preserved in different commemorative inscriptions in Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills. The *Jaṁbeśvara cave inscription*[1] of Udayagiri reveals that Nākiya the *Mahāmada* and Bariyā who was probably his wife jointly

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1. *E. I.* XVIII. pp. 152 f; Hiralal. *Inscriptions of C. P.* and *Berar* – pp. 129-30.
1. R. D. Banerji, *E. I.* XIII Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Inscriptions Pl. II no. 8; B. M. Barua, *O. B. I.* pp. 103—106.

caused the excavation of that very cave. The inscription in the Vyāghra guṁphā[1] like wise reveals the name of Bhūti, the *Nagara Akhadaṁsa*, who was responsible for excavation of that cave, while according to the inscription found in the Tattva guṁphā No. 1 of the Khaṇḍagiri,[2] the donor of that cave was one Kusuma who held the office of the *Pādakmulika*. It is, however, difficult to say whether the names *Kamma* and *Chūla Kamma* (junior *Kamma*) found in the Sarpa-guṁphā[3] and the Haridās guṁphā[4] respectively, indicate the proper names or official designations. In the *Junāgarh Rock Inscription*[5] (72 Śaka year) of Rudradāman we find two of the king's ministers designated as *Mati Sachiva* and *Karma Sachiva* and in analogy of this, it would be reasonable to take '*Kamma*' as the designation of a minister. *Kamma (Karma)* or *Karma Sachiva* was quite likely the Minister of Works and, as such, was responsible for construction and repair of forts and buildings, laying out of gardens, digging out of tanks and canals, and excavation of rock cut caves, etc., which are all referred to in the *Hāthīguṁphā Inscription*. He was being assisted by *Chūla Kamma* in proper discharge of his heavy duties.

1. Banerji, *Ibid* pl. II no. 7; Barua, *Ibid*, pp. 85--88.
2. Banerji *Ibid*. pl. II no. 10; Barua, *Ibid*, pp. 127—30. Dr. Barua takes *Pādamulika* in the meaning of a menial.
3. The Sarpaguṁphā (Snake-cave) contains two inscripions one at the left side of the door way and the other just over the door way. The first inscription refers to *Kamma* and the lady named Khiṇā who was probably the wife of *Kamma*, while the second one refers to *Chūla Kamma*. For the first inscription vide Banerji, *Ibid*, pl. II no. 1, and Barua, *Ibid*. pp. 91-94. For the second vide Banerji, *Ibid*, pl.I no. 4 and Barua, *Ibid*, pp. 79—82.
4. Banerji, *Ibid*, pl. II no. 6.
   Barua, *Ibid*. pp. 85-88.
5. *E. I.* VIII, pp. 42 f.

The official dignitaries under Khāravela may thus be stated as follows :—

Mahāmada or *Mahāmātra*, who was probably the same as *Sabbatthaka mahāmatta* of Pāli literature (Minister in charge of General affairs). *Nagara Akhadaṁsa* or *Nagalaviyohālaka* who was probably the same as *Nāgarika Mahāmātra* of the *Artha Śāstra* and *Vohārika mahāmatta* of Pāli literature. *Kamma* which corresponds to *Karma Sachiva* of *Junāgarh Rock Inscription.* He was being assisted by *Chūla Kamma* probably a junior cadre minister. The *Arthaśāstra*[1] also mentions a junior cadre of ministers who are members of *Mantri Pariṣad* but are placed below the High Ministers in rank and status. The Ministers of both these ranks are referred to as Councillors and Assessors by Megasthenes and other classical writers who probably wrongly include them in the 7th caste or class of Indian social structure. Strabo states - "The seventh class consists of the Councillors and Assessors of the king. To them belong the highest posts of Government, the tribunals of justice, and the general administration of public affairs."[2]

The *Kirāri wooden pillar inscription*, referred to above, throws important light on the administrative system prevalent in ancient Kosala and Kaliñga. This inscription was discovered in the village of Kirāri about 10 miles West of Chandrapur and the place was not far from the border[3] of ancient Kaliñga and Kosala during the period to which the record in question has been ascribed. The inscription reveals the name and designation of a large number of officers and the king under whom they served appears to be an

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1. *Arthaśastra, I*, 15. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 117 f.
2. McCrindle, *Ibid*, p. 41, also see pp. 85 f.
3. The traditional western border of Kaliñga was fixed at the Amarakaṇṭak hills. See *supra*. Ch. II.

independent and powerful one. Hiralal[1] places the record on palaeographic consideration in the 2nd century A. D. But it must be ascribed to the time before the occupation of Kosala and Kaliñga region by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, an event which took place sometimes during the first quarter of the 2nd century A. D.[2] Palaeographically the Kirāri inscription is almost contemporary with the *Guñji Rock Inscription*[3] and both these Brāhmī records may well be ascribed to the first century of the Christian era. The inscription was thus not far removed in time from the ' heti rule in Kaliñga and the evidence obtained from it would be more or less applicable to the period of the rule of Khāravela and his successors.

The Kirāri record although much damaged reveals the following official designations of the period.

Mahāsenānī—	Commander-in-chief.
Senāpati—	Commander of the army.
Nagara rakhin—	City Police.
Pratihāra—	Chamberlain.
Gaṇaka—	Accountant.
Gahapatiya—	Keeper of the household.
Bhāṇḍāgārika—	Treasurer.
Hathāroha—	Elephant driver.
Aśvāroha—	Horseman.
Pādamulika—	Royal attendant.
Rathika—	Superintendent of Chariot.
Mahānasika—	Superintendent of the Kitchen.
Hathivaka—	Superintendent of Elephants.

1. Hiralal, *op cit.* p. 129.
2. For the extent of the empire of Goutamīputra Sātakarṇi. See *E. I.* VIII. pp. 60 f.
3. *E. I.* XXVII. pp. 48 f.

Dhāvaka—	Herald.
Saugandhika—	Officer of Perfumery.
Gomāṇḍilika—	Superintendent of Cattle.
Yānasālāyudhagharika—	Superintendent of Garage and Armoury.
Palavīthidapālika—	Superintendent of Market.
Lehahāraka—	Letter carrier.
Kulaputraka	Nobleman.

These officers were very likely existing in the administrative set up organised by Khāravela and some of them are found represented in early sculptures adorning the caves of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri. The main wing of the lower storey of the Rāṇīguṁphā is relieved by a few scenes in one of which the king is found accompanied by the *Senāpati* and the *Bhāṇḍāgārika* the latter being symbolically represented as carrying a pot. The keepers of the gates addressed in bold relief at the Mañchapurī cave (lower storey), the Jayavijaya cave, the Dhyānaguṁphā, and Rāṇiguṁphā (both upper and lower storeys) in Udayagiri and the Tattva guṁphā No. 1 in Khaṇḍagiri, bring to our vision the arrangement of guards in the royal palace under the supervision of the *Pratihāra*. In the Rāṇīguṁphā, the high functionaries like the *Daṇḍapāśika*[1] the *Pratihāra*[2] and the *Senānāyaka*[3] appear to have been represented as keepers of the gates. In the right wing of the lower storey of the Rānīguṁphā is found a bare legged person standing erect with a *daṇḍa* in the right hand and a coil of rope in the left hand, and these attributes suggest that he is the representation of the *Daṇḍapāśika* of the period. In the upper right

1. A Senior Police officer.
2. The Supervisor of guards.
3. A high military officer, below the rank of *Senāpati*.

wing are two important figures, one turbaned, potbellied without weapons and with his *Dhoti* tucked up, while the other booted, turbaned, dressed in a kilt and with a sword hanging from his left side. The former seems to be a represetation of the *Pratihāra* and the latter that of the *Senānāyaka*. The placing of such high functionaries at the gates need not be taken too seriously, because the idea was apparently the represetation of officers in active services, as guardians of the abodes of the *Arhats*.

Thus, Khārvela like Aśoka seems to have maintained a well ordered system of official hierarchy. The ultimate power and responsibility in matters of administration were, however, vested in him. His policy was to please the subjects at home through benevolent rule and to make a show of his military prowess out side his kingdom. In that, he appears to have blended the Jainistic tradition of righteousness with the later Vedic ideas of imperialism. Although an aibitious autocrate, he was never prompted to violate the sacred customs which were genuine checks on his sovereignty. He was, however, presumptuous of his own divinity and claimed to have been bestowed with all auspicious signs on his body. The idea that the monarch is a divinely ordained person, as propounded by Manu was gaining ground in India by his time, but notwithstanding that, he looked upon himself as a guardian of Law and a faitheful executor of Law. In him we find the king not only as the supreme lord but also as the first servant of the State.

His public activities

After coming to the throne Khāravela set himself to the task of pleasing the people in emulation of Pṛthu. In the first year of his rule he is said to have spent 35,00,000 coins to strengthen and beautify Kaliñganagarī, his capital. This amount was spent for repair of the gates, towers, ramparts, and

the structures of the fort of Kaliñganagarī that had been damaged by stroms, and for construction of embankments and flights of steps in many cool-water-tanks of the capital, as well as, for laying out of gardens for enjoyment of the people. By doing all these works he claims to have pleased his subjects (*Pakatiyo cha raṁjayati*) and so to have attained the ideal of Indian kingship in the very first year of his reign.

In the third regnal year Khāravela, who was himself proficient in the art of music, organised various performances, where acrobatism (*Dapa*), dance (*Naṭa*), as well as, vocal and instrumental music (*Gīta and Vādita*) were displayed. He also arranged ceremonial and social congregations in which feastings, merrimakings, wrestling etc. formed part. With such, semi-religious artistic and social performances the metropolis of Kaliñga took a jovial and grandiose appearance and the inscription rightly describes that the entire city was made to dance as it were, with joy (*Kīḍāpayati Nagariṁ*).

The fifth year is remarkable for the development works undertaken by his Government. That year, the aqueduct which had been originally excavated 300 years before by Mahāpadmananda for purpose of irrigation, was further extended and was made to flow up to Kaliñganagarī to serve as its moat. By the sixth year of Khāravela's reign the Kingdom came to be very prosperous and the royal exchequer overflowed with wealth. So the Government made a display of the royal wealth by remitting taxes and benevolences both in urban and rural areas and the amount thus relinquishd was estimated to be many hundred thousands of coins. It may be suggested here that the remission of the taxes and cesses was undertaken in expectation of the birth of the royal baby and early the next year his queen (the Queen of the Diamond Palace) is known to have attained motherhood by giving birth to a son.



ROUTES OF KHARAVELA'S CAMPAIGNS

A close study of the *Hthīguṁphā Inscription* reveals that from the eighth regnal year onwards the public activities of Khāravela turned more and more towards religious and spiritual undertakings. His last notable public work is the construction of the great Victory Palace (*Mahāvijaya Pāsādaṁ*) in the ninth regnal year at an enormous cost of 38,00,000 coins. The erection of such a gigantic palace was undoubtedly meant for the vindication of his imperial dignity.

His Military Achievements.

That Khāravela possessed a large and invincible army (*Apatahatachako Vāhanavalo*) is suggested by the *Hāthīguṁphā Inscription*. His army consisted of cavalry, elephantry, infantry, chariot (*Haya, Gaja, Nara. Radha*) and also most likely a navy (*Nāva*). This army was no doubt inherited by him, and after assuming sovereignty he appears to have enlarged and strengthened it considerably. From the very beginning he seems to have cherished an insatiable ambition of conquest and expansion in imitation of the spirit of the later Vedic kings, as well as, of the early kings of Magadha. In the very first year of his coronation the storm tossed fortification of Kaliṅganagarī demanded immediate attention and he readily repaired it and made it strong and invulnerable. After consolidating his military strength and establishment, Khāravela commenced his career of conquest and aggrandisement from the second regnal year.

By the time Khāravela was crowned king of Kaliṅga in the third generation of the Cheti dynasty, Sātakarṇi I, the third monarch of the Sātavāhana family was already the master of an extensive territory that was lying to the West of Kaliṅga (*Pachhima disaṁ*). Sātakarṇi was ruling over the Mahārāṣṭra region with his headquarters near Nāsik, and if the mutilated *Nānāghāt Inscription* of his queen Nāyanikā is to be

believed, he was also the Lord of the Deccan (*Dakhiṇapathapa tino.*)[1] His suzerainty over a portion of the Deccan is also attested by the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* in which it is indicated that the Assaka territory was within the sphere of his influence.

As both the Mahāmeghavāhanas and the Sātavāhanas rose to political powers almost simultaneously, they began to vie with one another for supremacy, and a clash between them became inevitable. Khāravela had to face the rising power of the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan to realise his ambitions and his first military campaign was, therefore, directed against king Sātakarṇi the Sātavāhana monarch. In the second year of his reign he despatched a vast army consisting of elephant, cavalry, infantry and chariot which stormed the city of Asika, the capital of the Asska country and marched upto the river Kṛṣṇā (Kahnaveṁṇā).[2] This was a bold step for the newly anointed king, because he had to encounter the challenge of the mighty Sātavāhana power in the West and South-west. We do not know whether there was direct clash or not between Khāravela and Sātakarṇi in course of mobilisation of their respective forces that year.

As discussed earlier, Sātakarṇi I very probably breathed his last in Cir. 37 B.C. corresponding to the third regnal year of Khāravela and on his demise the widow queen Nāyanikā assumed the reins of Government as the regent of her minor sons Vedaśrī and Śaktiśrī. This was a momentous opportunity for Khāravela who now made preparation for a direct invasion of the Sātavāhana empire.

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1. Select Inscriptions, pp. 186 f.
2. This river is called Kanhavaṇṇā in the Karhad plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III dated A. D. 959. This is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit 'Kṛṣṇa varṇā' meaning Kṛṣṇā. (*E. I.* IV p. 286).

Early in the fourth regnal year, the Cheti emperor organised and pulled the resources of the invincible Vidyādhara territory[1] that had been the military recruiting ground of the former kings of Kaliṅga and marched headlong to the West. The Raṭhika and the Bhojaka territories lying respectively to the South and the North of the Nāsik region, were crushed and the Chiefs with their crowns cast off, their umbrella and royal insignia thrown aside, and their jewellery and wealth confiscated, were made to pay obeisance at the feet of Khārvela, the victor. It may be pointed out that Mahāraṭhi-Traṇakairo, who was the father-in-law of Sātakarṇi I, was probably the Chief of the Raṭhikas and either he or his successor had to sustain the defeat. The geographical location of the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas, as well as, the relationship between the Sātavāhanas and the Raṭhikas clearly indicate that Khāravela's war with the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas could not have been possible without an encounter against the Sātavāhana power. As a consequence of this victory, Khāravela's suzerainty could spread over the Deccan from sea to sea.

For the next three years Khāravela waged no war and invaded no territory; he remained busy in works of material development of his territory. In the eighth regnal year he led an expedition to the North and invaded Rājagṛha. The strong fort of the Gorathagiri, one of the hill fortresses guarding Rājagṛha, was demolished and the city was put into great trouble. His triumph in Rājagṛha created a stir among of the Yavanas who were then in occupation of Mathurā and were probably proeeeding towards Magadha. The news of the achievements of

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1. *See supra*, Chapter I for Vidyādhara territory.

Khāravela took the Yavana king with panic, who forthwith retreated towards Mathurā Khāravela, apparently, pursued him and purged the Yavanas out of Mathurā which was then a famous stronghold of Jainism. The Yavana menace diverted the plans of Khāravela and demanded his immediate attention towards the North-west, as a result of which Magadha was spared that year. The expedition to Northern India was considered glorious and successful and probably in commemoration of it Khāravela constructed the great Victory Palace in Kaliñga at enormous cost.

In the tenth year of his reign the army of Kaliñga marched again towards North India (Bhāratavarṣa)[1] for conquest and early in the eleventh year Khāravela after defeating the enemies secured from them jewels and precious stones at the time of their retreat. The enemies this time are, however, not specified in the inscription, and a reasonable inference would be the extirpation of the lingering power of the Indo Greeks (Yav as) in Northern India by the army of Kaliñga.

After coming back from the North, Khāravela was confronted with a great challenge from the confederated Tāmil States of the South. This confederacy consisted of the States of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Satyaputras, Kerālaputras, as well as, the Island of Ceylon (Tāmraparṇī), and as known from the inscription it was in existence for 1300 years prior to the time of Khāravela. That these territories were not subdued either by Mahāpadmananda or by Chandraguptamaurya is known from history and the *Edicts* of Aśoka clearly mention

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1. In the epigraphic records of ancient India the name Bhāratavarṣa (Bharadhavasa) is mentioned for the first time in the *Hāthigumphī Inscription*. But the name denoted only to Northern India at that time.

them as independent Southern neighbours of the Maurya empire[1]. Khāravela, in his 11th regnal year defeated the combined strength of these States and suecessfully shattared their league. The Line 13 of the *Haṭhīgumpha Inscription* informs that, Khāravela obtained horses, elephants, and jewelleries after incurring heavy loss of wonderful elephants and ships. This was most probably in connection with his war against the Tāmil League. The king of Pāṇḍya who appears to be the head of the League, surrendered before the conqueror and was forced to bring large quantity of pearls, jewels, and precious stones to Kaliñganagarī as tribute.

In the 12th year of his reign, Khāravela, for the third time advanced towards the North with a vast army and this time he even proceeded upto the North-west India (Utarāpadha) and terrorised several kings to submission. On his return from the Uttarāpatha, he encamped on the banks of the Ganges for an onslaught over Magadha. The people of Magadha were struck with terror at the sight of his elephants and horses and Bṛhaspatimitra, the then king of Aṅga and Magadha was forced to surrender at his feet. The inscription reveals that this defeat of Bṛhaspatimitra was decisive and the triumph of Khāravela achieved without much bloodshed was spectacular and glorious. It was, in fact, the climax of the distinguised military career of Khāravela.

Thus, within the short span of his rule, Khāravela greatly raised the military prestige of Kaliñga and achieved what probably no emperor of India in the past could accom-

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1 These territories are mentioned in *R. Es.* II and XIII of Aśoka as lying out-side his empire in the South.

plish. The defeat of the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas led to the extension of Kaliṅga's suzerainty right up to the coast of the Arabian Sea, while the submission of Bṛhaspatimitra and the Pāṇḍya king made her arms felt from the feet of the Himalayas to the farthest extent in the South.

His religious policy.

Khāravela was not a convert like Aśoka, but was a Jaina by birth. The very first line of the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* salutes the *Arhats* and all *Siddhas* indicating that the king, whose glory spread over four quarters, was a sincere worshipper of the *Jinas*. Kaliṅga was a stronghold of Jainism, as early as the time of Karakaṇḍu, who was probably a desciple of Pārśvanāth[1] and during the period preceding the invasion of Mahāpadmananda this religion had great influence over her people.

The rule of the Mahāmeghavāhanas revived the popularity of this religion and extended sincere patronage to further its cause Khāravela, the illustrious monarch of the family was in fact, the greatest patron of Jaina religion and culture. The *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* while recording his earnest devotion and patronage to Jainism in Kaliṅga, also reveals the underlying religious motive of his military campaigns. In course of his *Digvijaya* he appears to have visited Mathurā in the North, Satruñjaya and Terapura in the West and Srāvanvelgola in the South. In the 8th regnal year he followed a retreating Yavana king to Mathurā and protected this Jaina stronghold from the occupation of the Indo-Greeks. The inscription indicates that Khāravela brought to Kaliṅga a sappling of the *Kalpa* tree burdened

1. See *Supra*, Chapter III.

with foliage which was the *Kevala* tree of Ādijina Ṛṣabhanāth. His vast army, with horses, elephants and chariots made a majestic procession while carrying the *Kalpa* tree and after reaching the capital the emperor distributed the spoils of victory as gifts to all house -holders and religious orders.

In the 11th year of his reign Khāravela reclaimed the deserted city of Pīthuṁḍa[1] which was once the metropolis of the ancient kings of Kaliñga and in course of the work of reclamation he cultivated the city with polugh drawn by asses. The use of asses in place of bulls for drawing ploughs appears significant, and the possible explanation of it is that Khāravela, a devotee of Ṛṣabhanāth, preferred asses to bulls, the latter being spiritually assocated with the Ādijina.

The next year, after subduing Magadha he secured the image of Kāliñga Jina, the symbol of the national and religious sentiment of his people. This image which had been carried away by Mahāpadmananda to Magadha was triumphantly brought back to Kaliñga after a lapse of more than 300 years. This Kāliñga Jina was to all probability Ṛṣabhanātha, for whom Khāravela had special veneration. The treasures of Añga and Magadha secured as booty were utilised in erecting lofty shrines with strong and beautiful gate-ways in Kaliñga.

The Line 14 of the inscription states in glowing terms the royal support and patronage extended to Jaina *Arhats*. It is known from this that Khāravela was the worshipper (*Pujānurata*) of the monks who clad themselves in fine cloth *(Cinavatānaṁ)* and were observing rainy season retreat *(Vasāsitānaṁ.)* This indicates that the emperor was an

1. See *Supra*, Chapter I

advocate of *Svetāmbara* sect and the monks of this sect were receiving regular royal endowments (*Rājabhitinaṁ*), but at the same time he was showing high regards for those *Arhats*, who had renounced their sustenances (*Pakhina Saṁsita*) and were known as *Yapodyāpakas*. Although this expression appears somewhat ambiguous it seems to have referred to the *Digaṁbara* sect of Jainism. It was for these *Arhats* that Khāravela caused to be excavated some cells in the Kumārī hills (Udayagiri) for the resting of their bodies (*Kāyanisidiyāya.*) The Kumārī hills were, in fact, a famous place of pilgrimage and the Line 15 of the inscription reveals that many illustrious *Sramaṇas* and *Yatis*, *Jaina Saints*, *Tāpasas* and *Ṛṣis* (Brāhmanical sages) and *Saṁghāyanas* (Buddhist mendicants) used to congregate there from all parts of India. The religious significance of the place is hinted at Line 14, where it is stated that the wheel of Victory was well turned on the Kumārī hill and as pointed out earlier the expression implies the preaching of Mahāvīra on that spot[1]. We further know that in accordance with the desire of the Queen of Siṁhapatha (Probably one of his queens) the Emperor constructed a magnificent abode for the honoured guests, close to and in front of the dwellings of the *Arhats*. This structure was constructed with 35,00,000 stone-slabs of fine quality, which were brought from distant places, and was decorated with artistic works, as well as, with various precious stones. The floor of it was given a pink coloured appearance and the supporting pillars were bedecked with emerald. This magnificent building, the cost of which was estimated to be 105,000 coins, amply testifies to Khāravela's love and respect for the cause of religion and culture, and at the same time it reveals his stately grandeur. This also indicates that Khāravela was

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1. See *supra*, Chapter I.

showing equal respect and honour for all religious denominations. He rightly claims for himself in Line 17 of the inscription, as the worshipper of all religious orders and the repairer of all shrines of gods.

It may, however, be said that during the short span of his rule Jainism made a great headway in Kaliṅga. The example set by him in patronising Jainism was followed by many officers and noble men, presumably of his time, as well as, by his queens and sons. As pointed out above, some caves of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri are associated with Chūlakamma, Kamma, Bhūti, the Nagara Akhadaṁsa, Nākiya the Mahāmātra, and Kusuma the Pādamulika, who were responsible for their excavations. The Chief queen herself dedicated a suit of caves to the honour of the *Śramaṇas* of Kaliṅga while Mahārāja Kudepasīrī and Prince Vaḍukha, who probably came after Khāravela are known to have excavated beautiful cave-dwellings being inspired by the same ideals.

Thus the period was a golden age for Jainism which flourished in Kaliṅga as never before and after.

An estimate of Khāravela.

The *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* although secular in nature is religious in spirit and tone, and its fervour is heightened more and more towards the concluding lines. It is made sacrosanct by placing spiritual symbols around it[1], the obvious implication of which is that its contents are too

1. The *Vaddhamāṅgala* at the beginning against the 1st and 2nd. lines, the *Svastika* against 2rd. to 5th. lines on the left, the *Nandipada* between the 1st. and the 2nd. lines on the right and the *Uṅga Chaitya* at the end of the last line of the Inscription.

sacred to be untrue. Although it pronounces a panegyric on the works and accomplishments of Khāravela, it can not be regarded as a pan-eulogism and the spiritual stamp placed on it restricts the scope of high exaggeration. So unlike the other panegyric writing the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription*, should be treated as a faithful and authentic piece of record.

In the first century B. C. the hisrory of India entered into a period of political stagnation. The imperial edifice reared up by the Mauryas and the early Suñgas rapidly collapsed and could not immediately be replaced by the Sātavāhanas. The Indo-Greeks, who were bidding for an empire in the North and North-western India failed to achieve their goal owing to internecine warfare. And thus a vaccum was created in the political sphere that was filled up for a time in the second half of the century by Mahāmegha-vāhana Khāravela, the emperor of Kaliñga.

The career of Khāravela although meteoric, was eventful and glorious. His ambitious conquests directed against all quarters of India were astonishingly successful and as a conqueror he ranks very high in the annals of history. But his military campaigns aimed at more for the vindication of the prowess of Kaliñga than for building an empire for her by engulfing the conquered territories. A genuine patriot as he was, his ambition was to heighten the prestige of Kaliñga not only by defeating the rising powers of his time, but also by retaliating the defeats sustained by Kaliñga in the past. His first military achievement was the onslaught over the city of Asika which appears like avenging the defeat of king Kāliñga by Aruṇa of Assaka,—an event, although of several centuries past, was significant enough to linger in the memory of his time.[1] Magadha, the traditional enemy was in fact

1. See *Chūllakāliñga Jātaka* (*J.* III. pp. 3f.)

the main target for retaliation because of Kaliñga's humiliating defeat at the hands of Mahāpadmananda and Aśo' a. Magadha was over run more than once and in the 12th regnal year of Khārvela the final blow was cast resulting in her inglorious surrender. The military exploists of the great victor fully justify the epithet *'Chakravarthī'* given to him in the inscription of his Chief queen.

Khārvela was not only a great conqueror but also a benevolent ruler. A marked difference is noticed between him and Aśoka in their ideal of state-craft. The paternal theory of monarchy, propounded by Aśoka was not advocated by Khāravela who followed the time-honoured tradition that the king is the first servant of the State. Aśoka being a conqueror had to follow a policy of appeasement by issuing conciliatory proclamations and instituting official inspection and judicial protection. He had a full code of official conduct and his legislations intrcduced to a considerable extent a regime of austerity inspired by ethical principles of Buddhism. Khāravela, on the other hand, was the ruler of his people and his motive was not to appease but to please. His problem was not the consolidation of his rule but the glorification of it by successful achievement of prosperity at home and victory outside. This, however, could not be achieved by following a puritanic principle of state craft, and by enforcing censorship of public moral. His administration thus revived in a great scale the luxurious life and artistic activities in Kaliñga and made the people lively and vigorous. Line 16 of the *Hathīgumphā Inscription* states that he revived the *Tauryatrika* (performance of dance, song and concert) with its sixty-four branches that had been suspended during the time of the Maurya rule.

Khāravela was a great lover of music and fine arts, a wise administrator, a great conqueror, and at the same time was distinguished for religious and spiritual pursuits.

The inscription represents him not only as the embodiment of the principles of politics, peace and equity (*Daṇḍasaṁdhi-sāmamaya*-Line 10), but also as a Sage (*Yati*-Line 9) and reveals his religious fervour as a true Jaina by recording the formulae of salutations to *Arhats* and *Siddhas* in the opening line. The closing line remarkably depicts his chivalrous, stately and spiritual attributes and concludes:

> "Thus reigns that King of Bliss, that King of Prosperity, that Bhikṣhu King and that King of Dharma, His Majesty, the Mighty Conqueror Sri Khāravela, the descendant of Rājarṣi Vasu, the embodiment of specific qualities, the worshipper of all religious orders, the repairer of all shrines of gods, the possessor of invincible armies, the administrator of the rule of Law, the guardian of Law, the executor of Law, having seen, heard, felt and done good."

IV

KHĀRAVELA IN SCULPTURE

It is a matter of considerable interest to identify the effigy of the great king Khāravela carved out in relief in some of the caves of the Udayagiri hills. It may be said that the attempt of ascertaining the likeness of the king who flourished about half a century before Christ may be an illusory one. But there can be on denying the fact that the artists of the period attached considerable importance to the sculptural representation of a royal personage who was depicted prominantly sometimes with high officials and sometimes with his queens in scenes of war and peace. One such representation was brought to our notice by T. N. Ramchandran[1] in 1951 in the Mañchapurī cave which contains one inscription of Mahārāja Kudepasīrī who is taken to be the son and successor of Khāravela. This scene has been depicted on the facade of the verandah of the cave and although somewhat mutilated can be studied without much difficulty. It consists of a group of four persons - two men and two women - standing in adoration before an unspecided object which Ramchandran takes to be the throne of the Jina. An elephant is found walking towards this group and a *Vidyādhara* is flying above the elephant with speed

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1. *I. H. Q. XXVII*, 1951, pp. 103-04.

carrying a basket of flowers in his left hand. The sun is depicted as brilliantly shining in the sky just above the heads of the two women figures, and two small semi-divine beings are beating a suspended drum while hovering playfully over the male figures. T. N. Ramchandran makes the following inference about the scene,—"Shall we take the scene as one in which the king (perhaps Khāravela), prince (perhaps Kudepa sīrī) and the queen or princess are doing honour to the image of the Kāliṅga Jina which Khārvela recovered from Magadha and restored to his people ?"

"Another possible identification is with inference to the inscriptions actually found in this cave. The nearmost king may be Kudepasīrī while behind him stands the Kumāra (heir-apparent-is he Vaḍukha ?), in which case, the peculiar tiara can be taken to be a coronet".

K. C. Panigrahi[1] makes the following observation on the identification of Ramchandran. "The first suggestion of Mr. Ramchandran seems to be more probable. The scene seems to represent Khāravela and his family as paying homage to the sacred seat of Jina recovered from Magadha and this scene was caused to be carved by the king Kamḍapa-sīrī or Kuḍepasīrī who, accordidg to the inscription was the excavator of the cave".

While agreeing in general, with the above views, we suggest idenfication of the persons in the scene in the following manner. The male figure in the front may be taken to be the royal priest in view of his proximity to the sacred seat and because of his matted hairs which can be noticed even though that portion has been much damaged. The next male figure wearing a

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1. *Archaeological Remains at Bhuvaneswar*, pp. 206-07.

crown and heavy ear rings represents the king and in place of the royal umbrella the beating of the drum has been depicted just above his head, symbolising royalty. He may be identified with Khāravela himself and in that case the two female figures who are represented as having equal status, may be taken to be the two queens of Khāravela. The *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* reveals that he had at least two queens one known from Line 7 as the "Queen of the Diamond Palace" (*Vajira ghara*), and the other from Line 15 as the "Queen of the Lion path" (*Siha patha*) and the two female figures mentioned above may be said to have represented these two royal ladies.

The King, with two queens, has also been represented in the cave forming the right wing of the lower storey of Rāṇīgumphā. The cave consists of a single cell with pilasters crowned with corbelled abacus over which animals, some of which are winged, carry two arches decorated with honey-suckle and lotus flowers. The spandrils formed by the arches, are relieved by a scene of dance witnessed by the king with two queens and other attendants. The king and the queens are seated on a sofa—the king in the middle and the queens on beth his sides—and each of the queen has a female attendant standing by her side holding a toilet-tray in out-stretched hand. Behind this group is found the scene of royal entourage consisting of both male and female attendants and also a dwarf. The king wears a bejewelled tiara, dangling ear rings and heavy bracelets, three in each hand, while each of the queens have big ear studs, flat and large size bracelets (*Khaḍu*) one in each hand, heavy anklets and broad necklaces. An umbrella is held over the head of the king symbolising his royal authority.

Just in front of the king and queens a girl is dancing gracefully on a pillared pavilion to the tune

of concert played by four female musicians. The danseuse has plaited her hairs into two strands which fall by her sides and a flowing veil covers her head aiding glamour to her youthful face. Among the female musicians one beats the *mṛdañga* and the other the *dhakkā*, while the third plays on a many stringed harp and the fourth one blows a flute decorated with lion-head. On the other side of the scene of dance are depicted a turbaned man accompanied by a boy, and two female attendants are also seen holding a tray and a vase.

The dancing scene presents a feeling of exhileratin; grace and vigour and bespeaks the spirit of the *Hāthīgumhā Inscription* where Khāravela has been represented as a great lover of dance and music. The king who witnesses the dance and the orchestra with absorbing interest accompanied by his queens and courtiers may be taken to be king Khāravela himself.

The two scenes described above depict the king in his religious and cultural activities. Besides these, his military exploits and victorious campaigns have also been represented in a series of sculptures which adorn the facade of the main wing of the lower storey of the Rāṇīgumphā.

The narrative starts with the representation of a prosperous city presumably Kaliñganagarī, having double storeyed houses with barrel vaulted roofs, groves and gardens. Citizens both male and female are found standing on the open balconies, as well as, at the doors and verandahs of the lower stories, gazing at the royal procession depicted in the second third and fourth scenes which have, however, been highly mutilated. The procession consists of armed soldiers riding on horses and elephants as well as, high dignitories among whom may be identified the *Senāpati* and the *Bhāṇḍāgārika*, the latter being incharge

of the provisions. The king is seen seated on a lofty animal-probably an elephant-and he can be recognised by the umbrella held over his head. The first four scenes thus depict the king commencing his military campaign from his capital city where the people are gazing at the departure of the army from their houses. The actual scenes of war have been avoided, but the fifth, sixth, seventh and the eighth scenes represent the king receiving the defeated enemies. In all these scenes the king is discernible by the umbrella on his head and the surrendering enemies by their supplicant poses and folded hands. It may be suggested that each of these scenes depicts the submission of the chiefs of different lands mentioned in the *Hāthīgumphā Inscription*. The eighth scene as pointed out by Mrs. D. Mitra very probably represents the submission of the Yavanas and it may be described in her words as follows:

"On the extreme left of the eighth compartment is a royal figure with two attendants behind him, one of them holding the umbrella over him, and another, in front, standing in folded hands; beyond the last are two standing women, one carrying a tray and another offering a flower (?) and two kneeling figures, one of them with flowing fillets round the head, a Greek feature. Of the latter group the front one is holding the feet, as token of submission, of a person who seems to be snatching at the head-dress of the former and the rear one has his hands folded. Both of them seem to have alighted from the caparisoned horse standing on the extreme right. By the side of the horse are three more figures with folded hands. Like the two kneeling figures they too do not wear turbans and are probably followers of the latter".[1]

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1. *Udayagiri and Khandagiri* p. 21.

The ninth and the last scene represents the glorious entry of the *digvijayī* king into the capital city and the grandiose reception accorded by the jubilant citizens. "On the left is the king standing below an umbrella held aslant by an attendant. Two of his warrior-followers carry long swords over their shoulders. On the right, carved on the wall adjoining the pilaster, are six figures, four women and two turbaned men, the latter with out-stretched welcoming hands. Three of the women carry pitchers on their heads, the fourth, in kneeling posture, being in the attitude of pouring out the contents of her pitcher."[1]

The Rāṇīgumphā contains other important scenes which may also be suggested to have biographical significance for Khāravela.

In the main wing of the upper storey of the Rāṇī-gumphā, is found a long frieze in better preserved condition. It begins with a flying *Gandharva* wearing *dhoti*, turban, scarf and full set of ornaments and holding a tray of flowers and garlands. The story starts from the second scene which depicts a stalwart man with ten women encountering a herd of wild elephants in a lotus-pond in the forest. It appears that the man who came to the lotus pond with the women disturbed the tusker who was sporting there with the she-elephants, at which the angry animals refusing to leave their favourite resort furiously attacked the intruders. In the encounter that took place one of the women showed great courage taking her stand resolutely in the front with dishevelled hair and aiming against the animals a ring like object which is supposed to be a heavy ornament of her body. The man also fought bravely with a big staff, but other women in the party being nervous and panic-stricken drag one another and created great

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1. *Ibid.* p. 22.

confusion. The third scene opens with a rock cut cave in the forest, where the man being thoroughly exhausted and probably seriously wounded is found to be under the nursing care of a woman who appears to be no other than the brave lady-fighter of the previous scene. The third scene further indicates a fresh danger that came over them. A woman, probably one of the ten companions, who had fled away during the scuffle, reappeared on the spot leading by her hand a rapacious looking warrior who arrived there to take a timely vengeance on the wounded man. Very probably he killed the helpless man in cold blood and attempted to abduct the lady who was nursing him with tender care and affection. The brave lady whose heart was then heavy with sorrow naturally grew furious and taking the sword and shield of his man fought vigorously with the warrior. Subsequently, however, she was overpowered by the latter who caught hold of her person and forcibly carried her way through the forest track infested with lions.

The next scene presents a new chapter in which a king is found hunting in the forest. Among the attendants of the king one carries the umbrella and a fly whisk, the other holds a sword and the third a pot suspended from a rod over his left shoulder. A groom is attending to a caparisoned horse from which the king has just alighted to shoot an arrow at a winged deer running off in fear with her fawns. The king wears a bejewelled tiara, long necklaces, large size ear rings and heavy bracelets. He carries a sword hanging from his left side and stands in archer's pose flexing the left leg and straightening the right one, while going to apply the quivering arrow to the bow. It appears that the warrior who abducted the brave lady, depicted in the previous scenes, saw the approach of the hunting party of the king, and escaped from the place leaving behind the lady in the lurch. It was by happy coincidence that the deer struck with the arrow of the king ran for life and fell at the foot of the

tree on which the lady had perched for shelter. The lady has been represented as asking for protection by stretching her right hand towards the king and the latter as showing her compassion and *abhaya*. Thus the lady was rescued and was very likely brought to the palace.

The fifth scene depicts performance of dance by two girls to the tune of music played by three seated girls, one with cymbals, the other beating *mṛdañga* and the third playing on a harp with plectrum. The performance is being witnessed by the queen, the king, and a women who may be the very same lady rescued by the king and the dance and music may be said to have been organised in honour of her rescue. The queen has been represented on the left side, seated in easy pose and surrounded by five female attendants, one of whom holds an umbrella over her head, where as, the king is depicted on the right side of the scene of performance, seated in *lalita* pose bending the right leg on the throne, the left leg being pendant. An attendant is sitting in folded hands below the throne while to the right of the king the lady is found seated on a chair, and although her figure has been highly damaged she can be well recognised as sitting on an elevated chair, a leg of which is in tact and her head dress clearly visible.

The sixth scene of the series has completely been destroyed and no sign of it can be traced at present. But the next scene presents three amorous pictures depicting the king having conjugal love with a woman who may be identified with the lady rescued by him. The eighth scene is also completely damaged and nothing can be made out of it. The frieze ends with the figure of a flying *Gandharva* holding a tray of flowers in the left hand and a garland in the right hand.

The significance of this synoptic representation of a long story in lithic medium has not been properly

explained by scholars. W. W. Hunter rightly rejects the idea of explaining the story as the abduction of Sitā by Rāvaṇa, the king of Ceylon, but his ingeneous inference of equating the scenes with the abduction of Hellen by Paris is refuted by himself when he observes that "in this rock-biography on other hand, the rape is a perfect success, and Hellen and Paris live happily together ever afterwards"[1]. O' Malley and Manmohan Chakravarti are of opinion that these sculptures depict the story of the marriage of Pārśvanāth as narrated by Bhavadeva Suri in his *Pārśvanāth Charita*.[2] Traditions regardiag the activities of the twenty-four Tīrthaṁkaras were popularised in India during the late medieval period and Bhavadeva Suri who belonged to the 13th century A. D. compiled the biography of Pārśvanāth the 23rd Tīrthaṁkara on the basis of these traditions. But there is no evidence to show that such traditions were prevailing in India in pre-Christian centuries to inspire the poets and artists of the period. In the *Kalpa sūtra* attributed to the 5th Century A. D. the account of Pārśva's marriage is not represented as the result of such romantic adventures. More over, the *Pārśvanāth Charita* differs in various datails from the story depicted by these relief sculptures. According to the former the Yavana king of Kaliñga invaded the town of Kusasthala and forcibly took away its beautiful princess Prabhāvatī, who was rescued by Pārśvanāth whom she later on married. But the sculptures mentioned above narrate the story of abduction in a different manner making the question of identification of the two accounts inappropriate. It may further be pointed out that the account of the inglorious activities of the king of Kaliñga can not find such prominent

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1. *A History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 60
2. *Bengal District Gazetteers*—Puri (1908) p. 256.

representation in the Rāṇīguṁphā which depicts nothing but the triumph and glory of the king and people of Kaliṅga.

V. S. Agarwala[1] is inclined to identify the abduction scene of the Rāṇīguṁphā as representation of the abduction of Vāsavadattā the princess of Avantī by Udayana the king of Kauśāṁbī. This identification also does not seem to be correct in view of the divergent accounts of the story of abduction in both these cases. The *Svapna Vāsavadattā* of Bhāsa depicts the episode of a successful elopement of the Avantī princess by king Udayana and there is no question of the princess being rescued by any king as in the case of the story presented by these sculptures.

We have suggested else where[2] that the series of sculptures in the upper storey of Rāṇīguṃphā depict very likely the scenes from the life of king Khāravela himself. They seem to have represented the events leading to the marriage of the king with one of his queens in thrilling circumstances. The episode has been depicted with great force and vividness to convey the sense of a real event rather than that of a wonderful but fictitious legend.

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1. *J. K. H. R. S.* Vol, I, p. 241.
2. *A History of Orissa*, Vol. I. p. 60, f. n. 33.

V

CAPITAL OF KHĀRAVELA

The *Hāthīgumphā Inscription* refers to the capital of Kaliñga at more than one place in connection with the activities of Khāravela. In Line 3 the name of the capital is clearly recorded as Kaliñganagari although it is referred to only as Nagari in Lines 5 and 6 of the inscription. It is known from Line 3 that Khāravela in the first year of his coronation caused to be repaired the gates, towers, rampart, and the structures of the fort of Kaliñganagari which had been damaged by storm, and caused to be built embankments for the cool-tanks and laid out many gardens at cost of thirty-five hundred thousand coins. Line 5 states that in his third regnal year he organised performances of acrobatism, dance and music both vocal and instrumental, and made Nagari play as it were, while Line 6 reveals that in his fifth regnal year he renovated the aqueduct that had been excavated by king Nanda, three hundred years before, and caused it to flow to Nagari through Tanasuli.

These references suggest that the capital Kaliñganagari was a highly fortified township adorned with beautiful cool tanks and gardens and having facilities of a canal or moat apparently round about the fort and it was teeming with people enjoying festivals, convivial gatherings, dance and music. The location of this township has been fairly ascertained after the excavation of Śiśupālagarh near Bhuvaneśwar in 1948. B. B. Lal to whom goes the credit of this important excavation has tentatively

identified Śiśupālagarh with the site of Kaliñganagari (which he calls Kaliñgana ara). The conclusion of Lal is of considerable importance and it is quoted below from his report[1].

"To turn to this possibility of Śiśupālagarh respresenting the site of Kaliñganagara. The Hāthigumphā inscription does not say anything about the distance and direction of the city of Kaliñga from the Khaṇda iri-Udayagiri hills and therefore the city could be any where far or near irrespective of location of the inscription. If the city was somewhere in the neighbourhood, the claim of Śiśupālagarh has to be taken into consideration. According to the inscription Kaliñganagara was provided with fortifications and king Khāravela repaired the gate-way and fortification wall which had been damaged by a storm. Now no fortified town of comparable date except Śiśupālagarh is known to exist near about the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri hills; secondly the excavation did reveal a collapse and subsequent repair of the southern gateway-flank of the fortification. On these pieces of circumstantial evidence, a presumption is raised in favour of Śiśupālagarh being identical with ancient Kaliñganagara. But indeed nothing can be conclusively said until some definite evidence is forth-coming from the site itself."

The excavations, both in the habitation area and in the defence wall of the fort, reveal that the township developed in a gradual process and although it was first occupied sometimes during the period from cir. 300 to 200 B. C. it had its glorious days during the first century B. C. The early period (cir. 300-200 B. C.) was, in fact, the formative stage as known from large quantities of wheel turned

1. *A. I.* no. 5 pp. 66-67.

plain pottery varying from dull grey to terracotta red. This was the period when the defences only consisted of clay rampart with a layer of laterite gravel added unto its top. During the next period, dated from cir. 200 B. C. 100 A. D., the Śiśupālagarh culture is found developing to its full bloom. This period is marked by the predominence of sophisticated pottery, well-fired and well finished having bright red polish and fine decorative patterns. It was also from this period that beautiful terracotta ear ornaments, iron implements of peace and war and beads of precious stones like agate, carnelian, quartz etc., and many other refined articles were obtained. The defence walls of the township 'witnessed a change in the make up' as two brick walls, one being 2ft. 6 ins. and the other 3 ft. 6 ins. thick, were constructed 26 ft. apart at the top of the laterite gravel and the space between them was filled up with mud and earth; retaining ramps both in the interior and outside of the fort were also built to strengthen the brick walls. This phase of Śiśupālagarh came to an end about the middle of the first century A. D. and thus the prosperous period of Śiśupālgarh may well be attributed to the period of the Chedi rule in Kaliñga.

These evidences clearly suggest that Śiśupālagarh was the same as Kaliñganagari, the capital of Khāravela under whose rule it witnessed great development both in its habitation area and the defensive walls. The remains of the fort as it is found at present, give the impession of a deserted township its fortification walls being almost square in plan with each side measuriug about three quarters of a mile in length. The contours of the fort can clearly be made out with eight large gateways, two on each side and having corner towers, while a moat with perennial water supply circumscribe the fort. This aqueduct has been brought from the main current of the stream called Gañguā or Gandhavatī which takes its rise about six miles north of Śiśupālagarh and joins the river Dayā seven miles south of

the fort. The lay-out clearly suggests that not only the fortification but also the habitation area in-side, were carefully planned. The gateways seem to have been linked with roads running East-West and North-South, and the roads were very likely paved with laterite gravels or with brick bats. The excavation brought to light cart tracks inside the fort with the gauge measuring 4 ft. 6 ins.

Only one gate-way on the Western side was unearthed and it revealed many interesting details. There were both outer and inner gates having doors as known from the existing door-sockets. Close to the inner gate there was an ancillary passage. From the disposition of the gateway, Lal is led to infer that "at a certain fixed hour in the night the inner gate was closed stopping all vehiculer traffic beyond this point. Pedestrians could, however, get in or out through the ancillary pasaage. A little, later, the outer or main gate was closed while the guards at its back probably still remained on duty".[1]

The relief sculptures of the early caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills present a vivid picture of the society during the period of the Chedi rule in Kaliṅga and some of them give truthful representations of the life in Kaliṅganagari. In the main wing of the lower storey of the Rāṇiguṁphā there is a long frieze depicting the victorious march of a king starting from his capital and ultimately returning thereto with triumph and glory. We have elsewhere tentatively identified this king with Khāravela himself and the capital city with Kaliṅganagari. The capital is represented by a double storeyed house with semi-cylindrical roof having pinnacles, and the mango tree depicted near-by symbolises the orchards and gardens adorning the township. People are

1. *Ibid.* p. 77.

seen standing on the verandahs, as well as, on the bolconies looking at the march of the army apparently in the street of the capital The last scene of the frieze which depicts the return of the king to the capital presents a thrilling picture of his reception by the citizens. We find ladies carrying waterpots (*purṇaghaṭa*) on their heads and pouring out the contents at the feet of the victorious king. Although the figures are mutilated the dress and ornaments of both men and women can well be noticed. We find men wearing turban and women having veils on the head but not on the face. Both the sexes have necklaces, bangles and earrings but only women wear girdles and anklets. The contemporary sculptures in the Rāṇīgumphā and other caves reveal a highly developed urban civilisation in which both men and women had equal status in the society. Girls are found excelling in dance and music and playing on various musical instruments like flute, harp and drums, while boys are seen chasing bulls and lions and hunting deers as their pastimes. People generally are found to be familiar with toilet boxes, caskets, umbrellas, fans, beautifully designed plates, trays and bowls, as well as, with stools, benches, table and sofa. Thus the capital appears to have presented a high order of social life with healthy and prosperous citizens many of whom were highly accomplished in different arts. In fact, Kaliñganagari was one of the most prosperous and developed towns in the then India.

VI

SUCCESSORS OF KHĀRAVELA

The *Hāthīgāṁphā Inscription* presents a vivid account of the activities of Khāravela year by year, and it abruptly stops after the account of his 13th regnal year. Barua[1] surmises that Line 15 of the inscription speaks of the 14th year of Khārvela's reign, of which, however, we can not be certain as the beginning portion of the line is very much distorted and can not be restored. But it can definitely be said that the inscription was written sometimes after the 13th year of his reign and at a time when he (Khāravela) was ruling over Kaliñga with far-famed glory. Unfortunately we have no other record to know of the activities of his later days and the inscription of his Chief queen found in the upper storey of the Mañchapurī cave makes only a passing reference to him.[2] The last line of the *Hāthīguṁphā Inscription* reveals a remarkable spiritual turn of his mind and from this it becomes clear that the emperor was already satiated with his temporal achievements and was imbued with ideals of the *Dhammarāja* and *Bhikhurāja*. It is, therefore, not unlikely that like Chandraguptamaurya he relinquished the life of royalty and took to the life of a Jaina mendicant in

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1. *O, B. I.* p. 26. f. n. 1.
2. *Ibid*, p. 57.

his later days. This is however, not confirmed by any reliable evidence and the later life of Khāravela remains obscure till new sources are tapped to throw light on it.

In the lower storey of the Mañchapurī cave there is an inscription[1] of a King of Kaliñga belonging to the Ārya Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty. The name of the king is variantly read as Kadepa, Kudepa, Kadaṁpa, and Vakadepa. As the record has been damaged close to the name portion, it is difficult to say whether the name of the king consisted of three or four letters. The existing letters can, however be read as 'Kudepa' and we take this to be the name of the reigning king. It is not known for certain whether king Kudepasīrī was a predecessor or a successor of Khāravelasīrī. There is no direct evidence to depend upon for a satisfactory conclusion and neither palaeography nor sculptural art can help us here to find out correct chronology. It may be said that the cave architecture unlike structural building, is generally worked from the top downwards, and under this condition it is presumed that the upper storey of the Moñchapurī group, which is called Svargapurī, and which contains the inscription of the Chief queen of Khāravela is earlier than the excavations in the lower storey containing the inscription of Kudepasīrī. In this consideration king Kudepa is taken to be a successor of Khāravela and he seems to have ruled over Kaliñga for some time towards the close of the Ist century B C. The *Mañchapurī Cave Inscription* is the only available record about his rule and from this we know that the main wing of the lower storey was caused to be excavated by him. Nothing much, however, is known about this ruler.

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1. *E. I.*, XIII, p. 160.

To the lower storey of the Mañchapurī cave a side chamber has been added on the right where a small commemorative inscription[1] has been incised. It reveals that the cave was caused to be excavated by Kumāra (Prince) Vaḍukha. In view of the fact that the cave of Vaḍukha is just a side extension of the main cave excavated by Kudepa, it is inferred that the prince Vaḍukha was the son of king Kudepa. No other inscription has hitherto been found depicting Vaḍukha as a king and so it is difficult to say whether he actually ruled or not after the demise of his father.

Thus, the activities of the Mahāmeghavāhanas after Khāravela have remained obscure. Scions of this family very likely continued to rule over Kaliñga till the occupation of this region by the Sātavahanas early in the 2nd century A. D[2].

The *Purāṇas* present the account of nine generations of kings belonging to the Me ha dynasty who ruled over Kosala during the period before the rise of the Guptas[3]. If this Megha dynasty be taken to be the same as the Mahāmegha-vāhana dynasty of Kaliñga, it may be said that after their fall they shifted to Kosala where they established their authotiry and continued to rule for some time. The high pedigree of these kings is revealed in the praise of the *Purāṇas* which declare them as of great valour and wisdom. Nothing definite, however, can be said about these kings unless new sources about them are found in corroboration of the Purānic account.

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1. *Ibid.* Luders, List, No. 1348.
2. See *infra*, Ch. VII.
3. कोसलायां तु राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः
मेघा इति समाख्याता बुद्धिमन्तो नवैवतु ॥

Pargiter, *D. K. A.* p. 51.

VII

CAVE ARCHITECTURE

The cave architecture in India dates back to the period of the Maurya rule when an advanced stone technique was patronised by the Maurya court. The Lomaśa Ṛṣi cave in the Barābar hill, caused to be excavated by Aśoka and the Nāgārjuni hill caves attributed to king Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka, inaugurated a new practice in the stone cutters' art in India The cave dwellings eminently served the purpose of monastic abodes for the Ājivakas and not only that artificial caves were excavated but also the mountain hollows which were the dwellings of the wild animals were dressed and polished to make them suitable residences for the monks. The Mauryan caves were no doubt crudely designed without the verandahs and with no remarkable workmanship inside the chamber, the arch entrance also being somewhat clumsy. But this was an admirable beginning of the tradition of Indian cave architecture which developed to a great extent both in artistic and masonry workmanship in the later rockcut monasteries at Bhājā Beḍsā, Koṇḍane, Kārle, Kānheri, Ajantā etc. The cave excavations in Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills during the Chedi rule marked an important stage of development in between the Maurya caves and the later rock-cut chapels of the Buddhists in Western India. These later caves belonging to the early Christian centuries consist of a series of cells along with a quadrangular court for the dwelling of monks and are designated as *Vihāras*, and each *Vihāras* is associated with a rock hewn *Chaitya* enshrining

some symbols like the Stūpa, sacred tree or wheel for worship by circumambulation. The caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills are, however, not so elaborate although with their pillared verandahs and elegant carvings they mark a definite advancement upon their Mauryan predecessors, These cave were mainly meant for the resting of the bodies of the Jaina saints and recluses during their rainy season retreat and except probably the Rāṇīguṁphā, their workmanship and decorations may be said to be plain and simple. They may more appropriately be termed as rock-cut hermitages rather than as rock-cut monasteries or chapels.

B. M. Barua[1], basing on a wrong reading of Line 14 of the *Hāthīguṁphā Inscription* asserts that altogether one hundred and seventeen caves were caused to be made by Khāravela, his queens, his sons, his relatives, his brothers, as well as, by the royal servants on the Kumārī hill (Udayagiri). The Line 14 of the inscription does not give any hint regarding the number of caves in the Kumāri hill; it simply state that Khāravela excavated in that hill dwelling cells for resting of the bodies of the *Jāpodyāpaka Arhats*. Marshall[2] has counted more than thirty-five excavations in both the hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri and M. M. Ganguly[3] has enumerated only twenty-seven caves of these two hills. There is reason to believe that a number of caves have been destroyed both by natural and human agencies, the signs of which may well be marked at present. The number of existing caves is, however, not so great as to support the conjecture of Barua. There are only eighteen caves in the Udayagiri, while the Khaṇḍagiri presents only fifteen excavations and a considerable number of these are datable to

1. *O. B. I.* p. 25, 295
2. *C. H. I.*, I. (1955) p. 579
3. *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 84

the post Khāravela, as well as, the medieval peried. So the presence of as many 117 caves in the tiny rock of Udayagiri alone. seems to be an unreal proposition. The local names of the existing caves are presented below :—

Udayagiri

1. Hāthīgumphā
2. Mañchapurī gumphā
3. Sarpa gumphā
4. Bāgha gumphā
5. Jambeśvara gumphā
6; Haridāsa gumphā
7. Raṇī gumphā
8. Bājāghara gumphā
9. Chhoṭa Hāthī gumphā
10. Alakāpurī gumphā
11. Jaya Vijaya gumphā
12. Paṇasa gumphā
13. Ṭhākurāṇī gumphā
14. Pātālapurī gumphā
15. I hānaghara gumphā
16. Gaṇeśa gumphā
17. Jagannāth gumphā
18. Roṣāi gumphā

Khaṇḍagiri

1. Ananta gumphā
2. Tatowā gumphā No. 1
3. Tatowā gumpha No.2
4. Khaṇḍagiri gumphā
5. Dhyāna ghara gumphā
6. Tentuli gumphā
7. Ṇavamuni gumphā
8. Bārabhujī gumphā
9. Triśūla gumphā
10. Lalaṭendu Keśarī gumphā
11. Ambikā gumphā
12. Ekādaśī gumphā
13. 14, and 15. Unnamed

Almost all the caves of the Khaṇḍagiri hill excepting Nos. 1,2 and 3 above, belong to medieval period as known from the inscriptions and sculptures found in many of them, and as such, these are excluded from the present discussion. Among the early group of caves may be included the first six caves of the Udayagiri and the first three of the Khaṇḍagiri, as all these nine excavations contain inscriptions in Brāhmī characters attributed to the 1st century B C. The Hāthīgumphā and the upper storey of the Mañchapurī are without doubt, contemporary with the time of Khāravela

as the former contains the famous inscription of the king and the latter that of his Chief queen. The Hāthīgumphā was originally a natural cavern which after, being dressed and polished assumed a respectable appearance resembling the fore part of a seated elephant and it was on its over hanging brow that the inscription of Khāravela was deeply cut. The upper storey of the Mañchapuri is also known as the Svargapurī gumphā and unlike the Hāthīgumphā is an artificial cave hewn out of solid rock by the masons. The Svargapurī consists of one long back cell and a side cell to the right. The back cell has three door ways while the side cell has one. The door ways have pilasters on either side with crowning animal figures having wings, and the arches over them are decorated with creepers and flowers. The benched verandah in the front has been exposed due to collapse of the roof and the supporting pillars. This upper storey (Svargapurī) of the Mañchapurī cave has been dedicated to the monks of Kaliñga by the queen of Khāravela. In the record[1] inscribed on the second and the third cell this queen not only associates her with the erection of the cave but also discloses her own identity as the chief queen of Khāravela, the *Chakravartī* monarch of Kaliñga, as the great grand daughter of Hathisiha (Hastīsiṁha) and the grand daughter of king Lalāka (Lalārka). It may be said that by the time the upper storey was excavated Khāravela was in full glory of his power and the queen who caused its excavation not only declared him as a *chakravartī* ruler but also was proud of her own status as his chief queen. But by the time the lower storey was hewn out

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1. अरहंस पसादाय कलिगा [न]' [सम] नानं लेनं कारितं राजिनो ललाक [स] हथि [सि]हस पपोतस धुतुना कलिंग च [कवातिनो सिरिखार]वेलस अगमहिसि[न]।[कारितं]

Khāravela was no longer a king, the ruling monarch by that time being one Kudepasīrī, apparently a successor of Khāravela. The lower storey consists of two wings of cells, the main wing having two back cells and one side cell to the right after the manner of the Svargapurī, while the side wing contains only one cell. Both the wings are guarded by armed door keepers wearing turban, *dhoti* and scarf and standing barefooted with uniforms and arms. The main wing contains four door-ways with pieasters standing on pitchers and having addorsed animals as capitals. The arches are decorated with flowers and motifs of boys chasing animals.

In between the second and the third door-ways a very important scene of relief sculptures has been depicted representing two male and two female figures followed by an elephant. The human figures are seen in the act of paying obeisance to a sacred Jaina symbol which is unfortunately badly damaged. The detailed description, as well as, the significance of the scene have already been given and it has been suggested that the male figures are the royal priest and king Khāravela himself, while the two female figures are his two queens. In between the third and the fourth arches there is a short inscription[1] of king Kudepa who was responsible for the excavation of the group of caves comprising atleast the two back cells of the main wing, while the side cell to the right (sometimes called Yamapurī) also contains a small commemorative inscription[2] revealing the name of prince Vaḍukha who was probably the son of the ruling king. One of the cells of the

1. ऐरस महाराजस कलि[']गाधिपतिनो
महा[मेघ]वाह [नस]कु देप सीरीनो लेन[']।
2. कुमार वडुखस लेनं

main wing contained originally the name of another member of the royal family but unfortunately nothing now is visible excepting two letters read as '*Sale*'. The right wing has no decorative motif and is plain in design.

The Sarpa gumphā and the Bāgha gumphā derive their names from the design of their facades which resemble respectively a three hooded snake and the mouth of a yawning tiger. The Sarpa gumphā has a small polished floor and it contains two short inscriptions, one above the door-way declaring it to be the unrivalled chamber of chūlakamma[1] and the other on the left jamb stating that the pavilion was the gift of Kamma and Khiṇā[2]. The Bāgha gumphā also consists of one small chamber measuring 7′x6′ 4″. The short inscription running in two lines on its facade states that the cave belongs to Bhūti the *Nagara Akhadaṁsa* (the town judge.)[3]

The other two inscrsbed caves of Udayagiri (Kumārī hill) are the Jaṁbeśvara gumphā and the Haridāsa gumphā, the former being a low roofed cell with two doors and a benched verandah and the latter a spacious and high-roofed chamber with three doors and a benched verandah. Jaṁbśvara literally means the Lord of bears although the deisgn of the cave has no resemblance with that animal. The inscription[4] found above the right door records that the cave was of Mahamada (Mahāmātra) Nākiya and Bāriyā, the latter being probably the wife of the former. The Haridāsa gumphā is so named very likely because of its association with the Oriya mendicant Haridāsa belonging to

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1. चूलकंमस कोठा जेया च
2. कंमस[कोठा]च खीण [।]य च पसादो
3. नगद अखदंस स भूतिनो लेनं
4. महामदस वारियाय नाकियस लेन[ं]।

the time of emperor Aurangzeb[1]. The inscription incised on the facade of the cave states that it was the gift of Chūlakamma[2].

It has already been suggested that Mahāmada, Kamma and Chūlakamma like Nagara Akhadaṁsa are official designations and these functionaries served in Kaliṅga under the rule of the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhanas and the Brāhmī characters of all the commemorative inscriptions referred to above, amply support this view.

This palaeographical consideration is also applicable to the first three caves of the Khaṇḍagiri hill noted above. The Anants gumphā is the most important among the caves of this hill because of its relief sculptures conveying religious ideology, as well as, of the decorative motifs The cave itself forms an oblong chamber with high convex roof with verandah, the floor level of which has later been raised to the level of the bench. It is provided with four door-ways each flanked by pilasters standing on pitchers (*Ghaṭa*) and having bell capitals, abacus and crowning animal figures over which spring the arches guarded by three hooded serpent on either side. It is probably because of the serpent figures that the cave has been named as Ananta gumphā. The faces of the arches are highly embellished; the first one is relieved with flower garlands, the second and the third d pict men fighting with lions and bulls, while the fourth one contains a dozen of swans with outspread wings carrying *nilotpala* flowers in their bills. Each of the arches contain within it a

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1. The poet Sadānanda Kavisūrya Brahmā in his '*Nāma Chintāmaṇi*' reveals that Haridāsa the Oriya mendicant was tortured by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb.
2. चूलधंमस पसातो कोठाजेय[ा]च

tympanum depictings significant religious motif. The first represents the flattened front of a four tusked (*chaturdanta*) stately elephant flanked by two she-elephants (the right one being damaged) holding stalks of lotus with buds. The second depicts a quadriga driven by a royal personage wearing necklaces, bangles and heavy earrings and distinguished by a parasol above the head, while attended on either side by a female chaurī bearer. The spirited horses are straining at their harness and at the background is depicted the stellar world with the sun, the moon and the stars. A potbellied dwarf holding a water pot in his left hand and a banner in his right hand is also seen running with great speed along with the chariot. The entire composition has been taken to be that of the Sun god passing through the sky on his chariot but the identification seems untenable because of the figure of the sun depicted in disc shape in the sky-scape. The third tympanum depicts goddess Lakṣmī standing in the middle of a lotus lake holding two full-blown lotus flowers in her hands which rest on her loins. She is flanked by two elephants who stand on lotuses by her sides and pour water for her ceremonial bath from pitchers held in their up-lifted trunks, while two parrots are also seen bowing their heads in adoration behind the elephants. The fourth tympanum contains a sacred tree within railing and with a parasol at the top, worshipped by a man and a woman, the former with folded hands and the latter with a wreath of flowers, while two dwarfish figures are seen attending the male and the female worshippers.

The figures in the four tympana mentioned above convey religious ideologies commonly found both in Buddhism and Jainism in ancient India. The elephant as depicted in the first tympanum represents the gentle and dignified character of the animal believed by Indians to have spiritual merit of bringing rains and maintaining the crops and thus protecting

the life of the world. The *Vesantara Jātaka*[1] depicts spiritual power of king Vesantara's white elephant who was the most precious to the king next to his wife and children, because of his magical power of guaranteeing rain and fertility of the soil. When the country of Kaliñga suffered from draught and famine, king Vesantara (one of the previous incarnations of Buddha) practising the supreme virtue of Boddhisattva donated the priceless elephant to save the people of Kaliñga from calamity and to bring back wealth and prosperity of that kingdom. We are inclined to identify the royal elephant in the first tympanum mentioned above with the rain-producing white elephant who averted draught and famine in Kaliñga.[2]

The second tympanum as pointed out above can not be said to have contained the representation of the Sun god. The suggestion of taking the royal figure on the chariot as the Sun god and the two female chaurī bearers as his consorts—Uṣā and Pratyuṣā, becomes *prima-facie* untenable because of the presence of the sun in circular shape in the very composition. This piece of sculpture may well be compared with that depicted on the right top panel of the South gate of Bharhut where king Prasenjit accompanied by three female attendants, two on his sides and the third one at his back, is found riding on a chariot drawn by four horses. Of the two side attendants the one on the left holds a fly whisk and the other on the right acts as the charioteer, while the third one at the back holds the parasol

1. *J.* VI. p. 487. The same story occurs in the *Kuruddhamma Jātaka* (*J.* II. p. 367).
2. This may also be taken to be a representation of the *Chhaddanta Jātaka*, where the legend of the elephant king with his two wives one of whom was excessively jealous, has been described.

over the head of the king. The composition of the Ananta gumphā specimen is no doubt a bit different. Here both the attendants are found with fly whisk and the third one who is at the back of the royal figure holds the parasol and although she is not quite visible the parasol is there over the head of the king. The royal personage himself acts as the charioteer holding the reins in the right hand and placing the left hand on the loin. Like its prototype at Bharhut mentioned above, this panel may be said to have depicted a real king whose identification is yet to be satisfactorily made,

The king appears to be driving for the worship of Śrī or Lakṣmī, as well as, of the sacred tree the representations of which are found in the third and the fourth tympana respectively. Gajalakṣmī (Lakṣmī flanked by two elephants) is considered to be very auspicious motif both by the Jainas and the Buddhists. Its representation is found in ancient jaina *Paṭṭāvali*, and frequently in the reliefs of the Buddhist monuments at Bharhut, Bodhgayā and Sāñchi. According to Foucher[1] such figure of Lakṣmi or Śrī with elephant probably represents the nativity of Buddha and it may also be said that it constitues one of the fourteen dreams seen by Trisalā, mother of Mahāvīra when the latter was transferred to her womb from that of Devanandā.

The tree within railing may be either the *Bodhi tree* of the Buddhists or the *Kalpa tree* of the Jainas and nothing definite can be said about it beyond the fact that it represents the *Vṛkṣa-Chaitya* worshipped by a king and a queen. On the back wall of the cave has been carved seven auspicious symbols, the central one being that of *Tri Ratna* (which may

1. Vide Sir John Marshall, The Monuments of Sāñchi (Calcutta, 1940) Vol. I. pp. 133 f.

also be taken as *Nandipada*) flanked on either side by *Vṛkṣa-Chaitya*, *Śrīvatsa* and *Svastika* in order of enumeration. All these symbols have also been engraved round the *Hāthī gumphā Inscription* of Khāravela. An unfinished image of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara is found on the back wall just below the three right symbols.

On the lefthand beam of the verandah a short Brāhmī inscription[1] is found which reveals that the cave was meant for the Sramaṇas of Dohada. Another small inscription[2] which has been incised on the rock, out side the verandah, originally contained the name of the excavator of the cave, but unfortunately it has been peeled off. The two Tattwa gumphās are probably named after figures of parrots carved on either side of one of the arches of the lower cave (no.1) and those of doves and parrots on the sides of the middle and the right arches of the upper cave (no.2). The cave No.I consists of one low roofed cell with two door ways and a benched verandah while the other cave (no.2) located at a little distance above it, has a spacious cell with three door-ways having comparatively more artistic designs. The lower cave contains a short one line inscription[3] inscribed between the arches, which states that these caves were caused to be excavated by Kusuma, the Pādamulika. Cave no.2 which is located above also contains some Brāhmī letters on the back wall. The letters do not convey any meaning and some of them occur repeatedly indicating that it was nothing but a

1. [—] दोहद समण [।] नं लेनं
2. को [ट] । जे [या] [—]
3. पादमूलिकस कुसुमस लेण [।] नि

random writing[1]. The cave no. 2 is important not for this scribbling of some unknown recluse but for the motif sculptures found in the brackets supporting the roof. The three inner brackets contain three different motifs the first is designed with honey suckle and lotus placed one after the other, the second depicts a girl dancing under tree to the tune of a musician playing on a stringed instrument and the third represents a female devotee holding the stalk of a flower in her right hand and a tray full of flowers in her left hand.

The caves described above contain inscriptions in Brāhmī letters of almost the same period datable to the later part of the first century B.C. and may therefore be ascribed to the time of the Chedi rule in Kaliñga. There are many other caves in Udayagiri which on the basis of the sculptures and artistic carvings may be said to be almost contemporary with the inscribed ones noted above. The most important among the uninscribed group is the Rāṇīgumphā which is a double storeyed dwelling more important for its artistic carvings than its architectural designs It occupies the three sides of a quadrangle leaving a spacious courtyard in the front which was probably being used for open door religious gathering and spiritual performances. The upper storey, which is a natural cavern, has been converted into a respectable residence with six cells, four in the rear and one on each side. There was a covered verandah with nine pillars, seven of which have been recently replaced. The main four cells are provided with two door ways with pilasters supporting richly carved arches which are

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1. ख ग घ ङ च छ
ण त थ द ध न
ण त थ द ध न प फ श प म ह
ण त थ द ध न प फ ब भ प स ह
त थ द ध न प फ व ... श प स ह
त थ

connected with one another by railings. The space above the railings and in between the arches has been well utilised for depiction of a long frieze telling the story of a brave and beautiful lady abducted by a rapacious man and later on rescued by a king who married her subsequently. The significance of the frieze has already been described in details and it has also been suggested that it depicts the thrilling circumstances of the marriage of a king who is very likely Khāravela himself. The verandah of the main wing is guarded on either side by pot-bellied persons riding on animals, the one on the right seating on a lion and the other on the left probably riding a bull. The left and the right wings of the upper storey are each provided with a single cell and a benched verandah. The left wing is important for the *Dvārapāla* figures of which one standing on the left is a kilted and booted warrior and the other on the right a bare footed muscular figure clad in *dhoti*.

The lower storey of the Rāṇigumphā also consists of a main wing and two side wings. The main wing has four cells with a sculptured facade which has been exposed and weather beaten owing to disappearance of the roof. The frieze on the facade has been greatly defaced and although much of it is now beyond recognition, attempts have already been made here to give correct interpretation of it as far as possible. It describes the exploits of a *Digvijayī* king, starting from his capital and after subduing various kingdoms returns to headquarters to get overwhelming reception from the citizens. According to our suggestion the *Digvijayī* monarch represented in the frieze is probably no other than Khāravela whose exploits have been vividly narrated in the *Hāthī gumphā Inscription* near by. The left wing having three cells has been greatly weather worn, but the right wing consisting of a single cell with three entrances and a covered verandah contains some beautiful sculptures tolerably well preserved. The *Dvārapālas*

of this wing although somewhat defaced, look animated with flesh and blood and wear cloth, bangles, necklace and heavy ear-rings. n side the chamber the entrances are provided with pilasters with crowning animals like winged lion and bull resting on corbelled abacī and holding arches decorated with flowers and creepers. The arches are joined by railngs and the spandrils in between the arches are relieved with a beautiful scene of dance watched by a king with two queens and his entourage. The interpretation of the scenes, have also been already given and it seems very likely that the royal personage observing the dance accompanied by concert is Khāravela himself. The great king whose activities both in peace and war and in private and public life find prominent mention in scultural medium must be taken to be responsible for the excavation of this suit of caves. Art critics have attempted to make the sculptures of the Rāṇīgumphā some what posterior to those of the Mañchapurī and Ananta gumphā. Stella Kramrisch[1] for example, is of opinion that the reliefs in the Mañchapurī cave have common features with those of Bharhut and the friezes of the Ananta gumphā appear to be subsequent to the early portion of the Mahābodhi railing reliefs, while the friezes and sculptures of Rāṇī gumphā with their elegance and individual vivacity are comparable to those in Sāñchi. But this observation appears to be based more upon a deliberate attempt for formulation of ideas than on proper evaluation of the concept of art of the period represented by it. The plastic treatment and the artistry revealed in the human sculptures and decorative motifs of the three caves, mentioned above, do not appear to be so wide apart in time and ideology and the under lying characterstics in them strongly warrant the sameness of the tradition and the school of art that developed in Kaliñga by the first century B. C.

1, Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 307-314.

The Gaṇesa gumphā is also a very important cave of the Udayagiri and it is named after the figure of Gaṇesa carved in side its right cell. It consists of two low-roofed cells having a benched verandah. The roof of the verandah was originally supported by five pillars but later on two pillars in front of the right cell were removed probably with a view to providing more spece before the image of Gaṇesa which was carved during the medieval period. The exact time of converting the right cell into a shrine of Gaṇesa is known from the inscription[1] engraved in five line to the right of the Gaṇesa figure. This record reveals that it was incised by a physician Bhimmaṭa son of Nannaṭa during the reign of the Bhauma king Śāntikara who according to the *Dhaulī cave Inscription*[2] of the same Bhimmaṭa was ruling in Bhauma year 93 i. e., A. D. 829. The two elephant figures carved out in round and placed in front of the cave probably belong to this period as they have no artistic affinity with the elephant figures attributed to the time of the Chedi rule.

The cave has four door-ways, two for each cell with pilasters having capitals of addorsed animals seated on corbelled abacī. The arches are decorated with flower bearing creepers issuing from the mouths of *Makara* motifs. The spaces in between the door-ways are relieved with scenes which apparently look like the replica of the frieze found in the upper storey of the Rāṇīgumphā. The story depicted here do not, however, faith-fully follow the narrative of the Rāṇīgumphā. The first scene of this frieze depicts a man lying on a bed placing his head on the right hand and attended by a woman who sits close to him reclining on his left leg which is bent. The sword and shield of the

1. *E. I.* XIII. pp. 165-167.
2. *E. I.* XIX. pp. 263-64.

sleeping man can be seen near the bed. Next to this comes a warrior led by a woman and after that there is a scene of fight apparently between the warrior and the woman who was attending the sleeping man, while in the next scene the woman is found overpowered and abducted by the warrior. So far the friezes of this cave have some resemblance with the corresponding scenes in the upper storey of the Rāṇīgumphā. But the remaining scenes present totally different and unconnected story. It depicts a group of kilted soldiers pursuing an elephant on which are seated a female '*mahout*', a warrior shooting arrows at the pursuing soldiers and an attendant emptying a bag of coins probably to divert attention of the pursuers. The next scene depicts these three persons coming down from the back of the kneeling elephant and then in the suceeeding scene the warrior leads the other two—the lady holding a bunch of mangoes in the right hand and placing her left hand on the shoulder of the archer while the attendant carries the money bag on his right shoulder. The last scene represents the woman seated in pensive mood and the man in the attitude of consoling her, the attendant standing close to them with the bow of his master and also with the money bag now on his left shoulder.

The first of the frieze as pointed out above depicts the abduction scene in imitation of that found on the Rāṇīgumphā, while the second half is more akin to the episode of elopement of Vāsavadattā, princess of Avantī with king Udayana of Kausāmbī. The Rāṇīgumphā frieze seems to have biographical significance of a king living and ruling, while the Gaṇesa gumphā specimen appears to have the touch of a tale deriving inspiration from the theme of the former.

In between the Gaṇesagumphā and the Hāthī gumphā is located the Dhānaghara gumphā a plain and low-roof cell. It has a benched verandah having two pillars and three doorways with arches resting on capitals formed by two addorsed

animals on the abacus placed on inverted lotus, but in spite of the animal capitals the door ways have no flanking pilasters. There is, however, pilaster with bracket on either side of the cave and while the left bracket is relieved by an elephant figure the right one contains the fore part of a lion. Near the left pilaster a barefooted turbaned watchman clad in *dhoti* and scarf stands with a long staff held in both the hands in an attitude of alertness.

There was a cluster of cells arranged in a semi-circle form the left wing of the Rāṇīgumphā to the right wing of the Mañchapurī gumpha but a number of cells to the left of the Rāṇīgumphā have been completely destroyed and are now out of existence. The existing cells are Bājāgharagumphā, Chhoṭa-Hāthīgumphā, Alakāpurī gumphā, Jaya-Vijayagumphā Panasagumphā, Ṭhākurāṇī gumphā, and Pātālapurī gumphā which may be classed with the early group of caves on the basis of the plastic treatment of the animal and human figures, as well as, the decorative motifs found in many of them.

The Bājāghara gumphā consists of two cells having separate verandahs. The cells are almost in ruins and the right hand cell is mostly supported by mod rn repairs. The left cell. the front wall of which is completly broken, has only one original pilaster relieved with two peculiar animals having the heads of birds standing back to back. The pillar has on its top pairs of crowning animals carved out in the style of other animal figures of the same type found in the caves of the period. The right cell has its original pilasters but it is supported by modern pillars.

The Chhoṭa-Hāthīgumphā attracts attention by its beautiful carvings at the facade consisting of six elephants three on either side, of which the front ones are the cubs, the middle are the tuskers and the rear ones the she elephants.

They are represented as coming from a grove towards the abode of the Arhats with offerings of flowers. The elephant figures indicate close study of perspective and with grace and vigour are true to life. The gate way of the cave is provided with pilasters crowned with winged animals supporting an arch decorated with floral motifs. The three barred railings engraved below the elephants along with the plastic treatment of the animal figures indicate that the excavation may be ascribed to the period of the Rāṇīgumphā and the Mañchapurī group of caves. It may further be pointed out that this cave originally contained an inscription in one line engraved below the arch in Brāhmī characters of the first century B. C. But it has been efaced leaving the trace of the last three letters which may be read as '*Sa lenaṁ*'.

The Alakāpurī consists of two cells one above the other. The lower cell has completely been destroyed, obviously by human hands, while the upper cell also contains more of modern constructions. The brackets are found relieved with animal figures like elephants and lions some of which are provided with wings and some with human or bird heads One of the inner brackets contain the figure of four-tusked elephant flanked by two she- elephants after the manner of the relief found in the first tympanum of the Ananta gumphā. In this case however one of the flanking elephants waves a fly-whisk while the other holds an umbrella in honour of the tusker. The left pilaster depicts a man carrying a woman in his left arm and approaching an elephant which is about to kneel down in order to facil liate mounting over it, while on the right pilaster is found the figure of an elephant enchained in a tree.

The Jaya-Vijaya gumphā is also a two celled cave excavated by the left side of the upper cell of the Alakāpurī gumphā. The cells are provided with arches having pilasters crown d by winged animals and in between the arches are depicted a tree with railings havings conopy at the

top and banners on the sides. It is worshipped by a couple on either side, the females carrying trays of flowers while two other male worshippers are seen rushing towards the tree from the corners holding trays of offerings and flowers. The cave is guarded by one male figure on the left and a female figure on the right, the former clad in *dhoti* and is greatly damaged. The female wears a drapery and is ornamented with heavy ear studs, bangles and girdle; she has a beautiful coiffure and standing in *tribhañga* pose plays with a parrot.

The Paṇasagumphā has no artistic or architectural importance and had it not been among the cluster of the early caves it could have been relegated to same later times.

The Ṭhākurāṇī gumphā like the Alakāpurī consits of two cells one above the other, the upper one being smaller than the lower. The lower cell has a high convex roof and a benched verandah suported by a pillar. Figures of *makaras* and winged animals some with the heads of birds are found on the pillar and the pilasters. The inner bracket contains the relief of a pair of winged animals galloping in opposite direction. The upper cell has a semi-circular opening and a verandah without pillar.

The pātā'apurī gumphā has four high roofed cells, two at the back and one on either side of the verandah The back cells have now become one room as the separating wall has been broken. Winged animals standing back to back are seen on the pillars while on the bracket has been depicted a soldier fighting with a lion armed with spear and shield.

There is one more cave in the Udayagiri which may be classed among the early group discussed above. It is located to the left of the Haridāsa gumphā and is called Jagannātha gumhā after the late painting of the image of

Jagannātha (no longer in existence) in its back wall which was then plastered in order to lend it the appearance of a shrine. The Roṣāi gumphā, which is an adjunct to it, was being used as kitchen of Jagannātha and is so named because of that. The Jagannātha gumphā consists of a single chamber, the longest among the Udayagiri caves and it is provided with four entrances, two pilasters, a benched verandah supported by three pillars. "The tops of the pillars and pilasters are relieved with a variety of motifs-deer seated back to-back, winged hybrid figure with the tail of a *makara* and forepart of an one horned animal, another with the head of a bird and the body of an animal, fish, bird, flowers and plants on a *ghaṭa*. The inner brackets are lost. Four of the outer brackets are preserved: one has the figure of a seated *gaṇa* supporting the superstructure with his left hand, another a *vidyadhara* holding a tray of flowers, the third a winged *kinnara* holding a garland and the fourth a second standing *gaṇa* in the attitude of supporting the superstructure with a crane by its side."[1]

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1. D. Mitra *Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri* pp. 42-43.

APPENDIX

THE HĀTHĪGUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION

INTRODUCTION

The *Hāthīgūṁphā Inscription* is incised on the overhanging brow of a natural cavern in the Southern side of the Udayagiri and faces straight towards the R Es. of Aśoka at Dhaulī, situated at a distance of about six miles. This inscription was first noticed by A. Sterling in 1820 A. D. who published an eye copy of it in *Asiatic Researches* XV, as well as, in his book, "*An account, geographical, statistical, and historical of Orissa or Cuttack.*" The first reading of it was published by James Prinsep along with the eye copy prepared by Kittoe in the *J.A.S.* VI (1837), In 1877 Cunningham published it in the *C.I I.* I, and in 1880 R. L. Mitra published a slightly modified version in his *Antiquities of Orissa* II. It was by this time that a plaster cast of the inscription was prepared by Locke which is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. B. L. Indraji is credited with the first authentic reading of this inscription and he presented it before the *Sixieme Congress International des Orientalistes,* Vienna, in 1885. Bühler suggested certain corrections of Indraji's reading in 1895 and 1898. T. B. Block took an inked impression of the record in 1906 and Kielhorn sent that impression to J. H Fleet, who proposed some more corrections with a short note in the *J.R.A.S.* 1910. Luder also published a note and a short summary of the inscription in the same journal.

F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow made valuable contributions to the study of this inscription in the *Annual Reports of the Archāeological Svruey* (India-1922 23) and *Acta Orientalia* Vol. I. respectively.

R. D. Banerji visited the spot in 1913 and four years later he prepared the inked impression of the record which was published later by K. P. Jayaswal in *J. B O. R. S.* III, (1917). Jayalwal also visited the rock that year and prepared a revised reading after an on-the-spot study, which he published in the next volume of the *J. B. O. R. S.* In 1919 both R. D. Banerji and K. P. Jayaswal came to the spot again to re-examine the entire inscription and after their return H. Pandey was deputed to take a cast of it for the Patna Museum. Along with cast two more impressions prepared by M. S. Vats were brought to the Patna Mu eum and Jayaswal made a fresh study of the record with the help of these materials. In 1924 both Jayaswal and Banerji again came to the site for a further examination and the result was publi hed by Jayaswal in *J. B. O R. S.* XIII (1927). Both the scholars jointly edited the inscription afresh in the *E. I.* XX (1929 30). In 1929 B. M. Barua edited the "*Old Brahami Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*" with elaborate notes. D. C. Sircar published a newly edited version of the *Hāthigumphā Inscription* in his "*Select Inscription*, I", 1942.

Text

L. 1. [1]नमो अर[2] हंतानं [।।] नमो सवसिधानं [।।] ऐरेण महाराजेन महामेघ वाहनेन चेत[3]राज वस वधनेन पसथ सुभलखनेन[4] चतुरंत लुठ[ण][5] गुण उपेतेन[6] कलिंगाधिपतिना सिरिखारवेलेन

L. 2. [पं]दरस वसानि सीरि कड़ार सरीरवता कीड़िता कुमार कीड़िका [।।] ततो लेख-रूप-गणना-ववहार-विधि-विसारदेन सववीजा वदातेन नव वसानि योवरजं[7] [प][8]सासितं [।।] संपुंण चतुवीसति वसो तदानी वधमान सेसयो वेनाभि विजयो[9] ततिये

L. 3. कलिंग राजवसे[10] पुरिस युगे महाराजाभिसेचनं पापुनाति [।।] अभिसित मतो च पधमेवसे वात विहत गोपुर पाकार निवेसनं पटिसंखारयति कलिगनगरि खिवीर[11][ं] सितलतड़ाग पाडियो च वंधापयति सवूयान प[टि] संठपनं[12] च

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1. In the left hand margin of the first five lines are engraved two Jaina symbols : the Baddha mañgala at the top and the Swastika below.
2. R. L Mitra : अरि; Jayaswal : अरा ।
3. Sircar : चेति; चेत is the same as चैत्य ।
4. Sircar : लखनेन, Barua : लखणेन ।
5. Jayaswal : लुठित ।
6. Jayaswal : गुणोपगतेन, Sircar : उपितेन ।
7. Sircar : योवरज ।
8. Barua : व ।
9. Jayaswal : सेस योवन—आभिविजयो,
   Barua : वनाभि वजयो ।
10. Barua : राजवंसे ।
11. Jayaswal and Banerji : खिबीर इसितालतड़ाग,
    Barua : गभीर ।
12. Barua : पटिसंठापनं, Sircar : पटिसंथपनं ।

L. 4 क.रयति पनतिसाहिसतसहसेहि पकतियो च रंजयति [॥] दुतिये च वसे अचितयिता सातकनि[1] पछिमदिसं हय गज-नर रथ बहुलं दंडं पठापयति [॥] कन्हवेंणा गताय सेनाय वितासिति असिक नगरं[2] [॥] ततिये पुन वसे

L. 5. गंधव वेद बुधो दपनतगीतवादित संदसनाहि उसव समाज कारापनाहि च क्रीड़ापयति नगरिं [॥] तथा चवुथे वसे विजाधराधिवासं अहत पुबं कलिंग पुवराज निवेसितं[3].....[4] वितथमकुट स.....[5] निखित छत

L. 6. भिंगारे हित रतन सापतेये सव रठिक-भोजके पादे वंदापयति [॥] पंचमे च दानी वसे नंद राज तिवस सत ओघाटितं तनसुलिय वाटा पनाड़ि नगरिं पवेस[य] ति.....[6][॥] अभिसितो च [छठेवसे][7] राजसेयं[8] संदंसयं तो सयकरवण

L. 7. अनुगह अनेकानि सतसहसानि विसजति पोर[9] जानपदं[॥] सतमं च वसं[10] पसासतो[11] वजिर घर वि.....स मतुक पद [पुंना] स[कु]मार.....[12] [॥] अठमें च बसे महति सेनाय महत[13].....गोरधगिरि

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1. Barua : सातकर्णि, Sircar : सातकंनि ।
2. Jayaswal and Banerji : मुसिक नगरं,
   Barua : असक नगरं ।
3. Barua : पुव राजानं धर्मेन ।
4. This portion cannot be deciphered. Barua conjectures as व नितिना व पसासयति ।
5. This portion is also quite indistinct. Jayaswal reads बिलमढ़ि च ।
6. Barua restores the gap as सत सहसेहि च खनापयति ।
7. Barua : चढ़ेवसे ।
8. Jayaswal : राजसुयं; Barua : राजसिरिं ।
9. Jayaswal : पोरं ।
10. Barua : सत मे च बसे ।
11. Barua : असिवत Prinsep : पसासतो ।
12. After पसासतो Barua reads : धजरथ रखि तुरंग सत घटानि सवत संदसनं सव मंगलानि कारापयति सतसहसेहि । This reading is partly conjectural and highly doubtful.
13. Jayaswal : महत भित्ति; Barua : मधुरं अनुपतो ।

L. 8. घातापयिता राजगहं उपपीड़ापयति [।।] एतिन[1] ['] च कंम पदान संनादेन[2] संचित—[3]सेन वाहने विपमुचितुं मधुरं[4] अपयातो यवनराज[5] .....म.....[6]....[7] यछति.....[8] पलवभार

L. 9. कपरुखे[9] हयगज[10]रध सह यति[11] सवघरावास परिवेसने[12]..... सवगहणं च कारयितुं वम्हणानं जयपरिहारं ददाति [।।] अरहत[13]..... नवमे च वसे[14]

L. 10. .....[15] राज निवासं महाविजय पासादं कारयति अठतिसाय सतसहसेहि [।।] दसमे च वसे दंड़संधीसामपयो[16] भरधवस पठानं

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1. Indraji : एतिनं; Barua also reads एतिनं ।
2. Barua : पनादेन; Jayaswal : संनादेन ।
3. Prinsep : पंबात; Indraji : सवत; Barua संभीत ।
4. Sten Konow : मधुरं; Jayaswal : मधुरां ।
5. Barua : येव नरिदो ।
6. Sten Konow : डिमित; Jayaswal : डिमिद; Barua : सवर ।
7. The gap is restored by Barua as सवघर वासिनं च राज भतकानं च सव गहपतिकानं च वम्हणानं च अरहतानं समणानं च पान भोजनं ददाति । The reading is doubtful.
8. Barua reads कलिगं याति which is doubtful.
9. Jayaswal : कल्पुरुखे; Barua : कपरुखे; Sircar : कपरुखे ।
10. After गज Barua conjectures two letters : नर ।
11. Indraji : सहयत; Jayaswal : यंते, Barua : याति; Sircar : यति ।
12. Barua reads.—सवघर वासिनं च सवराजभतकानं च सव गहपतिकानं च सव वम्हणानं च पानभोजनं ददाति । This reading is subject to doubt.
13. Barua conjectures अरहतानं समणानं च पान भोजनं ददाति सतसहसेहि ।
14. Jayaswal : न.....गिय । Barua, as well as, Sircar read नवमे च वसे ।
15. Both Jayaswal and Barua read उभय प्राचीतटे । But later on the former read वेडुरिय कलिंग and the latter - कलिंग माने हि ।
16. This is the latest reading of Jayaswal doubtfully accepted by Sircar. Barua reads कलिंग राजवंसानं ततिय युग सगावसाने कलिंग पुवराजानं यस सकार कारापयति सतसहसेहि । This reading can not be regarded as tenable.

महीजयनं·····कारापयति [।।] एकादसमे च वसे[1]·····यातानं[2] च मणिस्तनाननि[3] उपलभते [।।]

L. 11. कलिंग[4] पुवराजनिवेसितं पीथुंडं गदभनंगलेन कासयति[5] [।।] जनपद भावनं[6] च तेरसवससत कतं भिदति[7] तमिर देह संघातं [।।] बारसमे च वसे·····[सत] सह सेहि वितासयति उतरापथ राजानो·····

L. 12. मागधानं[8] च विपुलं भयं जनेतो हथसं[9] गंगाय पाययति [।।] मागधं च राजानं वहसतिमितं पादे बंदापयति [।।] नंदराज नीतं कालिंगजिनं[10] संनिवेसं··· [राज] गहरतन परिहारे हि[11] अंग मगधवसुं च नयति[12] [।।]

L. 13. ···[क] तुं[13] जठर [ल]खिल[14] गोपुराणि[15] सिहराणि निवेसयति सत विसिकनं परिहारे हि[16] [।।] अभुत मछरियं च हथीनाव [तं][17] परिहर[18]···

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1. Jayaswal : निरितय; Barua : कारुख हयगज नररध which is inacceptable.
2. Jayaswal : उयातानं ।
3. Indraji : मनोरधानि ।
4. Jayaswal : मंडे च; Barua कलिंग ।
5. Jayaswal : पीथुड़ग दलभ नंगले नेकासयति;
   Barua : पिथुड़ग दभं नगले नेकासयति ।
   Sylvain Levī, Sten Konow and Luders suggest the reading given by us; it is finally accepted by Jayaswal, as well as, by Sircar.
6. Barua : अनुप दभवनं; Jayaswal जिनसदं भावन; Sten Konow, Indraji, Jayaswal, R. C. Mazumdar and Sircar read जनपद भावनं ।
7. Jayaswal : केतुभद तित; Barua : भिदति तिमिर दह; Sircar : भिदति त्रमिर ।
8. Jayaswal : मगधानं ।
9. Jayaswal : हथिसु; Sircar हथसं ।
10. Barua : कलिंग जिनासनं; Jayaswal and Sircar read कालिंग जिनं ।
11. Jayaswal : षडिहारे हि ।
12. Jayaswal : नेयाति; Sircar : नयति ।
13. Jayaswal : त ।
14. Jayaswal : लिखिल; Barua : चथर पलिखानि;
    Sircar : जठर लखिल ।
15. Jayaswal : वरानि ।
16. Barua : सत बासुकी रतनं पेसयंति ।
17. Jayaswal : हथिनावन; Barua : हथीस पसबं; Sircar : हथीनिवास ।
18. Jayaswal : परीपुरं उपदेणुह ।

हथ हथी रतन [मा]निकं[॥]पंड़राजा एदानि अनेकानि[1] मुत मनिरतनानि आहरापयति इध सतस[हसानि]

L. 14. .....सिनो बसीकरोति [॥] तेरसमे च वसे सुपवत विजयचके कुमारी पवते अरहते [हि] पखिन संसितेहि[2] कायनिसीदियाय यापजावकेहि[3] राजभितिनं चिनवतानं वासासितानं[4] पूजानुरत उवासग[5] [खा] रवेल सिरिना जीवदेह सयिका[6] परिखाता[॥][7]

L. 15. .....सकत[8] समण सुविहितानं च सवदिसानं[9] यतिनं[10] तपस[11] इसिनं संघायनं[12] अरहत निसीदिया समापे पभारे[13] वराकर समुथापिताहि अनेक योजनाहि ताहि [पनतिसाहि सतसहसेहि] सिलाहि सिहपथ[14] राजिस[15].....[16]

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1. Barua : विविधा भरणानि; Jayaswal : एदानि अनेकानि; Sircar leaves a gap.
2. Jayaswal : अरहिते यापखिम व्यसंताहि; Barua : अरहतो परिनिवासतोहि । We accept the reading of Sircar.
3. Jayaswal : यावजावकेहि; Barua : राजभटकेहि ।
4. Sircar : राजभितिनि, चिनवतानि, वासासितानि ।
5. (a) Jayaswal : पूजानिकत—उवासा ।
6. Jayaswal : जीवदेह सिरिका ।
7. Barua makes out : राज भतकेहि राजभातिहि राजजा राजपुतेहि राजमहिसिहि खारवेल सिरिना सतदसलेणस कारापितं । This reading is untenable.
8. Jayaswal : सुकतं ।
9. Prinsep : सुतदिसानं; Indraji : सवदिसानं; Jayaswal : सातदिसानं; Barua : सतदिसानं ।
10. Indraji : यानिनं; Jayaswal : जातानं; Barua : यतिनं; Sircar : जनिनं ।
11. Barua : तापस ।
12. Barua : लेनं कारयति; Sircar : संघियनं ।
13. Prinsep and Cunningham read सुभारे; Indraji and Jayaswal read पभारे; Sircar : पाभारे ।
14. Prnsep : सपपथ; Cunningham : भगरथ; Jayaswal : सिंहपथ; Barua : सिलाथंभानि च ।
15. Jayaswal : राजिय; Haranandan Pandey : रानिस ।
16. Jayaswal : रजी सिंधुलाय निसयानि; Barua : चेतियानि च कारापयति । These readings are doubtful.

L. 16. .....पटलिक[1] चतरे च वेडुरिय गभे थंभे पतिथापयति पानतरिय[2] सतं सह सेहि [।।] मुरिय[3] काल[4] वोछिनं च चोयठि अंग संतिकं[5] तुरियं उपादयति [।।] खेमराजा स वढ़राजा[6] स भिखुराजा धमराजा पसंतो सुनंतो अनुभवं तो कलाणानि

L. 17. .....गुणविसेस कुसलो सव पासंड पूजको सव देवायतन संकार[7] कारको अपतिहतचकवाहन[8]वलो चकधरो[9] गुतचको पवत चको राजसि वसुकुल[10] विनिसितो[11] महाविजयो राजा खारवेलसिरि [।।][12]

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1. Indraji : पटालके; Jayaswal : पटालिको ।
2. Jayaswal : पानतरिया ।
3. Indraji, Sten Konow, Jayaswal and Banerji read : मुरिय; Barua : वेडुरिय; Sircar : मुखिय ।
4. Fleet and Indraji read काले; Jayaswal : कालं; Barua : नील; Sircar कल, मुरियकाल refers to the period of Maurya rule in Kaliñga.
5. Jayaswal :अगसतिकं; Barua : अध सतिकं; Sircar : अंग संतिकं ।
6. Jayaswal : वढ़राजा; Barua : वधराजा Sircar : वढ़राजा ।
7. Sircar : सकार ।
8. Jayaswal : चकि वाहिनि ।
9. Jayaswal : चकधुर ।
10. Jayaswal : वसकुल; Barua : वंसकुल ; Sircar : वसुकुल ।
11. Jayaswal and Sircar read विनिश्रितो ।
12. Tree within railing.

Translation

Line 1-2. Salutation to Arhats. Salutation to all Siddhas. Ārya Mahāmeghavāhana Śrī Khāravela, the Lord of Kaliñga, who heightens the glory of the Chedi Royal dynasty, who possesses all auspicious signs, and is gifted with qualities spreading over four quarters, and who has handsome brown complexion, played for fifteen years the games of the adolescent age.

Line 2-3. Thereafter, proficient in writing, coinage, arithmetic, law and procedure, and skilled in all arts, (he) ruled as the Crown-prince for nine years. After the completion of the twenty-fourth year of age, and with the ripening of the age of minority, (he) as g'orious as Vainya,[1] was crowned as king in the third generation of the royal dynasty of Kaliñga

Line 3-4. In the very first year of his coronation (His Majesty) caused to be repaired the gate, rampart, and structures of the fort of Kaliñganagari, which had been damaged by storm, and caused to be built embankments for the cool tanks and laid out all gardens at the cost of thirty five hundred thousand (coins) and thus pleased all his subjects.

Line 4-5. In the second year, without caring for Sātakarṇi (His Majesty) sent to the West a large army of

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[1] Pṛthu, the son of Veṇa.

horse, elephant, infantry and chariot, and struck terror to the city of Asika with the troop that marched up to the river Kṛṣṇā.

Thereafter, in the third year, versed in the art of music (His Majesty) made (Kaliñga) nagari play, as it were, by arranging festivals and convival gatherings. organising performances of acrobatism, dance, as well as, of vocal and iustrumental music.

Line 5-6 Then, in the fourth year, (His Majesty) ··· ···the Vidyādhara tract, that had been established by the former kings of Kaliñga and had never been crushed before.

The Rāṣṭrika and Bhojaka chiefs with their crowns cast off, their umbrella and royal insignia thrown aside, and their jewellery and wealth confiscated, were made to pay obeisance at His Majesty's feet.

And, in the fifth year, (His Majesty) caused the aqueduct that had been excavated by king Nanda three hundred years before, to flow in to (Kaliñga) nagari through Tanasuli.

Line 6-7 Further, in the sixth year of his coronation (His Majesty) in order to display the regal wealth, benevolently remitted all taxes and cesses, on the urban and rural population, to the extent of many hundred thousands.

And, in the seventh year of his reign, (the Queen) of Diamond Place, with a son attained mother-hood.

Line 7-8 Then, in the eighth year, having destroyed the strong (fort) of Gorathagiri with a mighty army (His Majesty) oppressed Rājagṛha.

Getting the tidings of all these achievements, the Yavanarāja, who had retreated to Mathurā for the rescue of his army encamped there, surrendered (?)

Line 8-9. The sage (Khārave'a), with the Kalpa tree burdened with foliage and with the horses, elephants and chariots.....(distributed gifts) to all houses, inns and residences, and with a view to making gifts universal, gave away the spoils of victory to the Brāhmaṇas.

Line 9-10. And, in the nineth year, (His Majesty) caused to be built the great Victory palace-the royal residence-at the cost of thirty eight hundred thousand (coins).

Then, in the tenth year, (His Majesty) who embodied the principles of politics, diplomacy and peace, caused (the army) to march towards Bhāratavarṣa[1] for conquest.

Line 10-11. And, in the eleventh year, (His Majesty) secured jewels and precious stones from the retreating (enemies). His Majesty caused to be cultivated Pīthuṇḍa, founded by former kings of Kaliñga with ploughs drawn by asses. Also (His Majesty) shattered the territorial confederacy of the Tāmil states that was existing since thirteen hundred years.

Line 11-12. And, in the twelfth year, (His Majesty) terrorised the kings of Uttarāpatha[2] by (an army of) hundred thousand. (His Majesty) generated

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1. Nerth-India.
2. North western India,

great fear among the people of Magadha while making the elephants and horses drink from the Ganges. (His Majesty) made Bahasatimita, the king of Magadha, pay obeisance at his feet. (His Majesty) then brought Kāliṅga Jina that had been taken away by king Nanda, along with the jewels obtained from Rājagṛha, and the treasures of Aṅga and Magadha.

Line 13-14 .....(His Majesty) caused to erect towers with strong and beautiful gateways at the cost of hundred Visikas.[1] (His Majesty) obtained horses, elephants and jewelleries sending strange and wonderful elephants and ships.....The king of Pāṇḍya caused to be brought here[2] various pearls, jewels and precious stones hundred thousand in number.

(His Majesty) brought to submission the people of.....

Line 14-15 And in the thirteenth year Upāsaka Śrī Khāravela, a devoted worshipper of those who clothe themselves in fine cloth, enjoy royal endowment and take to rainy season retreat, excavated in the Kumārī hill, where the wheel of victory had been well turned, dwelling cells for resting of the bodies of the *Jāpodyāpaka Arhats* who had renounced their sustenance.

Line 15-16. (As desired by) the Queen (of) Siṁhapatha, (His Majesty) set up in front of and beside the dwellings of the Arhats ..... with those

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1. The value of Visika is not known.
2. The capital Kaliṅganagarī.

thirty-five hundred thousand stone slabs, which were raised from the best quaries and (brought) from a distance of many *yojans*, for the convenience of the honoured *Śramaṇas* and for the *Yatis*, *Tāpasas*, *Ṛṣis* and *Saṁghāyanas*, who hailed from all directions, and also set up on the pink coloured floor, pillars bedecked with emerald at a cost of one hundred and five thousand (coins).

(His Majesty) revived the *Tauryatrika*[1] with its sixty-four branches, that had been suspended during the time of the Mauryas.

Line 16-17. (Thus reigned) that king of Bliss, that king of Prosperity, that Bhikṣu king and that king of Dhamma, His Majesty the mighty conqueror Śrī Khāravela, the descendant of Rājarṣi Vasu,[2] the embodiment of specific qualities, the worshipper of all religious orders, the repairer of all shrines of gods, the possessor of invincible armies, the administrator of the rule of Law, the guardian of Law, the executor of Law, having seen, heard, felt and (done) good.

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1 Performance of dance, song and concert.

2 The ancient Chedi king Uparichara Vasu.

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CHAPTER VII

KALIÑGA DURING THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CENTURIES

(1ST CENTURY A. D. TO 350 A. D.)

The Later Meghavāhanas :—

The history of Kaliñga in the 1st century A. D. is much obscure and little is known about the political life of the territory till the ascendency of the Sātavāhanas early in the 2nd century A. D. The archaeological excavations at Śiśupālgarh in 1948, have, however, thrown some light on this obscure century through ceramic and numismatic evidences. The occurrence of the rouletted ware and other associated finds in occupational deposit[1] has indicated that it was a period of active economic and cultural activities in Kaliñga. The rouletted ware attributed to cir. 40-60 A. D. was first found at Arikamedu[2] in course of the excavation of that site in 1945. Although its occurrence at Śiśupālgarh is not as prolific as at Arikamedu, the specimens at both the sites are identical in form, texture, colour and general appearance. It is, therefore, believed that this ware travelled from South India to Kaliñga through either over-land or over-seas trade. The association of the rouletted pottery having bright black polish with the red glazed Arretine ware

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1. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p.78
2. *Ibid.* No. 2. p.34

of Arikamedu, together with the finds of Roman coins, gems, glass bowls, etc[1]. have pointed out to a brisk commercial contact of the eastern coast of India with the Graeco Roman world—a fact corroborated by the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Cir. 60A.D.)[2] The Śiśupālgarh has further yielded a number of rectangular uninscribed copper coins together with silver coins of square punch marked variety in the layers attributable to Cir. 50- 100 A. D. These evidences indicate flourishing economic and commercial life in Kaliñga in the 1st century A. D. and as such, the period cannot be said to be devoid of political activities.

The Tamil epic *Maṇimekalai*, throws some light on the political history of Kaliñga presumably in the later part of the 1st century A. D. The date of this work is unfortunately subject to controversy and while S. K. Aiyangar[3] ascribes its composition to about 200 A. D., N. A. Sastri[4] is of opinion that it is composed as late as 450 A. D. It may however, be assumed that the epic preserves the tradition of a fratricidal war that took place during the later part of the Chedi rule in Kaliñga[5]. It narrates an episode of two warring princes named Vasu and Kumāra who were cousins by birth and were ruling over two separate portions of Kaliñga from their respective capitals—Simhapura and Kapila, The hostility between them was of a serious nature and as a result of it the prosperous kingdom was turned into a desolate territory.

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Periplus*, Ed. by Schoff.
3. *Ancient India & South Indian History & Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 401-02.
4. *J. O. R.* XI, pp. 166 f
5. *Maṇimekalai*. Ch. XXVI. See also the English translation of the epic by A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, p. 82.

The above episode is ascribed towards the end of the 1st century A.D. and it is said to have been connected with the decline of the Chedi-meghavāhanas in Kaliñgā. The Chedis appear to have continued in Kaliñga till they were ousted from power by the Sātavāhanas early in the 2nd century A. D.

The Sātavāhanas.

The history of the Sātavāhanas in the first century A.D., like that of the Meghavāhanas, is wrapped in obscurity. During the later part of the century the Mālwā and Mahārāṣṭra region was occupied by the Scythian conquerors who are known as the Kṣaharāṭas or Khakharāṭas. The Sātavāhanas, there upon, seem to have retired to the South and ruled over the Janapada called Sātavāhanihāra[1] comprising roughly the modern Bellary district of Mysore. The fortune of the Sātavāhana family rapidly revived under Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who started his reign about 106 A.D. and consolidated his strength in the Deccan by conquering the neighbouring territories.[2] In the 18th year of his reign he defeated and probably killed Nahapāna, the famous Kṣaharāṭa Satrāp and re-established his suzerainty over the Mālwā-

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1. Sātāvāhanihāra was for sometime under the rule of a *Mahāsenāpati* named Skandanāga. *E.I.* XIV. p. 155.
2. The date of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi may be ascertained in connection with that of his adversary Nahapāna, who as known from the *Junnar Cave Ins.* (*Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 103) flourished atleast upto the Śaka year 46 (i.e. 124 A.D.). Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi defeated and probably killed him in 124 A.D. in his (Gautamīputra Sātkarṇi's) 18th regnal year. Hence, Gautamīputra may be taken to have started his reign from 106 A.D. (124-18). Since he is known to have ruled upto his 24th regnal year he ended his career in Circa 130 A.D.

Mahārāṣṭra region.[1] It was by this time that Kaliṅga and Kosala were conquered and made a part of the Sātavāhana empire. The *Nāsik Cave Inscription* of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi reveals the conquests and activities of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī and describes him as the annihilator of the dynasty of the Khakharāṭas (Kṣaharāṭas) and as the restorer of the glory of the Sātavāhana family.[2] The same inscription points out the geographical extent of his empire by declaring him as the ruler of the territories like Asika Asaka Mūlaka, Suratha Kukura, Aparānta, Anupa, Vidarbha, Ākara and Avanti, and also as the lord of the mountains like the Vindhyas, Ṛkṣavat Pārijātra, Sahya Kṛṣṇagiri, Malaya, Mahendra, Śvetagiri and Chakora[3]. The territories and the mountains mentioned above indicate that the empire of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi extended upto the Vindhyas and the Ārāvalī in the North, the Western Ghāṭs and the Arabian Sea in the West, the Eastern Ghāṭs and the Bay of Bengal in the East and probably upto the southern part of the modern State of Mysore in the South. The mountains like Kṛṣṇagiri, Malaya, Mahendra, Śvetagiri and Chakora may be traced in the South-eastern India, particularly in the territory of Kaliṅga. Kṛṣṇagiri or

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1. The *Nāsik Cave Inscription* of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (*E. I.* VIII, p. 71) dated in his regnal year 18 is taken to be the year 46 when the minister of the Mahākṣatrāpa Nahapāna inscribed the *Junar cave Inscription*. The *Nāsik Cave Inscription* declares that it was issued immediately after a great victory and it describes Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as the lord of Beṇākaṭaka in Govardhana (Nāsik region). The victory referred to must be the victory over Nahapāna who is mentioned in the *Nāsik Cave Inscription* dated in the Śaka year 45. (*E. I.* VIII, pp. 82 f.) The defeat of the Kṣaharāṭa Satrāp is clearly suggested by the Jogal tambhi hoard of Nahapāna's coins restruck by Sātakarṇi.
2. *E.I.* VIII p. 60 f; also *Arch-Surv-W. Ind.* IV. p. 103.
3. हिमवत मेरु मंदर पवत सम सारस असिक असक मुलक सुरठ कुकुरापरंत अनुप विदभ आकरावंति राजस विझ छवत पारिचात सयह कण्हगिरि सचसिरि टन मलय महिद सेटगिरि चकोर पवत पतिस..... ।

Nāsik Cave Insc. of Vasiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, year 19.

Kaṇhagiri may be identified with the Kṛṣṇagiri referred to in the *Gañjām Copper plate Grant* of Mādhava-varman II dated in 300 Gupta era.[1] It is located in the Gañjām district of Orissa and is found rich in various antiquities. Malaya may be the same as the Mt. Melius mentioned by Pliny who locates it in the territory of Oretes (Oḍras). This hill has already been identified by us with Malayagiri near Pāllaharā in the Dheñkānāl district of Orissa[2]. Mahendra is the famous Mahendragiri in Gañjām district of Orissa and is referred to in various literary and epigraphic records of ancient and early medieval period.[3] Śvetagiri is probably the same as the modern Śrīkurmaṁ[4] in Śrikākulaṁ district of Āndhra Pradesa and the Chakora mountain may be identified with the Chakrakūṭa or the Chitrakūṭa hill in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. The above identifications appear to be fairly correct and in the light of that it can be said that Kaliñga region was included in the Sātavāhana empire during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang[5] further testifies to the fact that the *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li* i. e. Parimalagiri identified with modern Gandhagiri (or Gandhamārdangiri), located on the borders of modern Sambalpur and Bolangir districts of Orissa,[6] was in the empire of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. As

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1. *E.I.* VI p. 143.—Kṛṇgiri or Kaṇhagiri is generally taken to be the same as Kānheri (*I.A.* XLVII. 1918 p. 151) but its identification with the Kṛṣṇgiri of the *Gañjām Copper Plate Inscription* seems more probable.
2. See *Supra* Ch. II.
   The alternative identification of it is the Western Ghāṭs to the South of the Nilgiri hills (Sircar *Select Inscriptions* p. 19 n. 1). but its identification with the Malayagiri in Orissa is more probable.
3. For detailed reference See *Supra* Ch. II.
4. This hill is traditionally called Śvetagiri.
5. *Watters* II p. 201.
6. For this identification see '*Buddhism in Orissa*' pp. 99-101.

this region formed a part of the ancient South Kosala it may be said that along with Kaliñga the territory of South Kosala was also included in the Sātavāhana empire.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi seems to have occupied Kaliñga by putting an end to the rule of the Chedi-Mahāmegha-vāhanas early in the second century A. D. His rule lasted upto 130 A. D.[1] when he was succeeded by his son Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. This monarch is known to have maintained the integriety of the empire and probably occupied the Āndhra territory comprising the coastal region between the mouths of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā On his death sometime after 154 A. D.[2] the Sātavāhana power suddenly decilned and although its glory revived for a time during the rule of Yajña Sātakarṇi (A. D. 174—202) it is not known for certain whether Kosal and Kaliñga continued to be under the rule of the Sātavāhanas after Pulumāvi. The *Purāṇas*[3] reveal that scions of the Megha (Meghavāhana) family raised their heads in Kosala in the post Sātavāhana period while both literary and numismatic evidences point out to the rule of a foreign dynasty named Muruṇḍa over the Kaliñga region.

The Muruṇḍas.

The Muruṇḍas who played an important role in the political history of India during the period intervening the decline of the Kuṣans and the rise of the Guptas have remained a problem to this day. Sten Konow, while editing the *Zeda inscription* of Kaniṣka, remarked

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1. His *Nāsik Cave Inscription* of the regnal ye ar 24 is his last known record. (*E. I.* VIII p. 73)
2. His *Kārle Cave Inscription* is dated in his regnal year 24 (*E. I.* VII p. 71).
3. D. *K. A.* p. 51, For the Megha dynasty of South Kosala see journal of *G. J. R. S.* Vol. I (1943-44) pp. 149-160.

that the word 'Muruṇḍa' is a Śaka word meaning 'Lord' or 'Master'[1]. In the light of this, some scholars are inclined to interpret the word 'Saka Muruṇḍas' of the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* as the 'Śaka Lords'. But the *Purāṇas* distinguish the Muruṇḍas from the Śakas and state that the former ruled along with the Tuṣāras (Tukhāras) in India and that 13 kings of that dynasty ruled for a period of 200 years[2]. The classical writers like Strabo, Pliny and Periegetes speak of the people named Phrinoi or Phruni who lived close to the Tochari and the Casiri, and these tribes are generally identified with the Puruṇḍas, or Muruṇḍas, the Tukhāras or Tuṣāras and the Caspiris or Kashmiris respectively.[3] Hemachandra, on the authority of some ancient works reveals that the Muruṇḍas came to India by way of Lampāka or Lamghān,[4] and the route of the migration of the Muruṇḍas as suggested by him indicates that they were a distinct tribe from the Śakas.[5] It appears that the Muruṇḍas came to India along with the Tukhāras (Kuṣāns) and started their political career as subordinates of the latter. With the decline of the Knṣān power the

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1. *E. I.* XIX, pp. 1 f and *C. II.* II, p. 145.
2. When the kingdom of the Āndhras (Sātavāhana) will come to an end, there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants: 7 Andhras and 10 Ābhīra kings, also 7 Gardhabhins, 16 Sakas. There will be 8 Yavanas, 14 Tuṣāras, 13 Muruṇḍas and 11 Huṇas.
   Pargiter, *D.K.A.* p. 72, *Ibid*, p. 46.
3. Presidential address of Dr. P. C. Bagchi in Ancient Indian Section of Indian History Congress-1943.
   Aligarh Session. pp. 15 and 23.
4. Hemachandra, *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi.*
5. The Han-shu (*Annals of the Han dynasty*) states that the Sai-wang (Muruṇḍas) being attacked by the Yueh-chi went southwards and traversed Hien-tu or the Hanging Gorge located on the Indus in a SSW direction from Kashgar, a little to the West of Skardo and near the boundary of the modern Dardistan.
   (Chattopadhyaya, *Śakas in India*, p. 4).

Muruṇḍas are known to have carved out a separate kingdom in Eastern India. Ptolemy in his *Geographike* (middle of the 2nd century A. D.) points out that the Muruṇḍai established a territory on the right bank of the Ganges as far as the valley of the Sarabos (Sarayu or Ghagrā) in the North.[1] Oppien, who comes after Ptolemy also mentions the Murundien as a people living in the plains of India in the Gangetic valley. The Muruṇḍa rule in North–eastern India is also corroborated by the Chinese account brought to light by Sylvain Levi.[2] It reveals that during the rule of the Wu dynasty (220-277 A. D.) one Indian king sent Chen-song with four horses of the Yueh-chi country as present to Fan-Chen, the king of Funan (Cambodia). In the Funanese court the Chinese ambassadors Chou-yung and Kan-tai asked Chen-song the Indian ambassador about Indian customs, and the latter replied "Theirs is a country where the law of Buddha prospers. The people are straight forward and honest and the land is very fertile. The title of the king is Meou-loun. The capital has a double enclosure of ramparts. Streams and sources of water supply are divided into a large number of winding canals which flow into the ditches under the walls (of the city) and thence into a great stream. The palaces and temples are adorned with sculptures and engraved decorations. To the right and left there are 6 great kingdoms, those of Kia-wee, Che-wee etc".[3] Prof. Levi identifies Meou-loun as Muruṇḍa and Cunningham is inclined to identify the capital city of the Indian king with Pāṭaliputra. The description of the city no doubt reminds one of the splendour of Pāṭaliputra and it was very

1. *Ptolemy* pp. 201 and 212 f; also see *I.A.* XIII, p. 377
2. Sylvain Levi *Melanges, Charles des Harlez* (Leiden, 1896) pp. 176-185.
3. S. Levi *Ibid.* See also B R. Chatterjee's *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, pp. 17-18.

likely the headquarters of the Muruṇḍa territory in Eastern India.[1]

The rule of the Muruṇḍas in Eastern India with Pāṭaliputra as their capital is amply corroborated by the Jaina literary tradition. The *Pādalipta Pravandha* states that Pādalipta-surī cured a Muruṇḍa, king of Pāṭaliputra from a serious headache and converted him to Jainism.[2] The *Bṛhat-Kalpavṛtti*[3] also speaks of a Muruṇḍa king of Pāṭaliputra whose widow accepted Jainism. Another Muruṇḍa king of Pāṭaliputra has been mentioned in *Āvasyakavṛtti* where he is referred to have sent an ambassador to the court of the king of Puriṣapura.[4] Merutuñga, in his *Pravandha Chintāmaṇi* also speaks of a Muruṇḍarāja, whose capital was located at Pāṭaliputra.[6] The Jaina version of *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁsikā* further reveals that one 'Muruṇḍarāja' was also ruling over the city of Kānyakubja.[6]

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1. The Chinese account reveals that Fan-Chen the king of Fu-nan, had earlier sent one of his relatives named Su-Wu as ambassador to the court of the Meou-loun (Muruṇḍa) king of India. Su-Wu started from Fu-nan (Cambodia), passed by the mouths of the river Teou-kieou-li (Takkola and followed the large bend of the sea-side straight towards the North-west, entered a large gulf which bordered on a number of kingdoms, and at the end of a little more than a year reached the mouth of the river Tien-Chu (India). He went up the river more than 7000 li and reached the destination. (Levi, *Deux Peuples meconnus* in *Melanges Charles des Harlez*, pp. 176-85).
2. *Pādalipta Pravandha* vv 44, 59, 61, and Mohanlal Jhaveri, *Nirvāṇa Kalika of Pādaliptāchārya*, Intro p. 10.
3. Quoted in the *Abhidhāna Rājendra*. Vol. II. p, 726.
4. *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, p. 184.
5. *Pravandha Chintāmaṇi*, Bombay, 1888, p. 27.
6. *Harvard Oriential Series*, XXVII, p. 251 and XXVII, p. 223.

The Jaina works referred to above are of late medieval period and they have naturally confounded the chronology of the Muruṇḍa rule in India. The *Prabhākara Charita*, for instance, which was composed in the 2nd half of the 13th century A. D. makes the Muruṇḍas of Pāṭaliputra contemporaneous with the Sātavāhanas of Paiṭhān and king Gardhavila of Ujjain, while tradition[1] reveals that Siddhasena, the preceptor of king Vikramāditya of Ujjain, was a contemporary of Pādalipta, the preceptor of the king Muruṇḍa of Pāṭaliputra. From historical standpoint, however, the rule of the Muruṇḍas in India cannot be placed as early as the period referred to above, as they are known to have come in the wake of the Kuṣān invasion. A. S. Altekar is inclined to identify the Muruṇḍa kings of the Jaina tradition with the Muruṇḍas of the Purāṇic tradition, which refers to 13 Muruṇḍa kings ruling in the post Āndhra and pre-Gupta period.[2]

The Muruṇḍas appear to have invaded Kaliñga sometime in the 2nd century A. D. after the decline of the Sātavāhana power over that region. The Muruṇḍa rule in Kaliñga is suggested by large hoards of Kuṣān coins along with imitation Kuṣān coins discovered in all the coastal districts of Orissa, as well as, the hill districts of Mayūrbhañj and Keonjhar. These coins have also been discovered in the districts of Rāñchi and Siñghbhūm in Bihar and a few of these have been found in West Bengal.

The Kuṣān coins were discovered in Orissa as early as 1858 when Walter Elliot found a number of these coins at Jaugaḍa in the district of Gañjām[3] (then in Madras Presi-

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1. *I. C.* III, p. 49.
2. *Ancient India* no. 5 p. 100.
3. *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. no. 7, (new series April—Sept. 1858, pp. 75-78.

dency). J. D. Beglar in his *Archaeological Survey Reports*[1] of 1874-75, and 1875-76 refers to these copper coins of Jaugaḍa as follows :

"It is said that a large quantity of coins were found buried at its foot some years ago when a European official from Ganjam dug it up—some of gold and silver, but many of copper. I could get none of the gold and silver coins, but I got a few copper coins much defaced. They were evidently Indo-Scythian and thus confirm the great antiquity of the place, and incidentally prove the great influence of the Indo-Scythians in India when even their copper currency is found so remote from their capital,"

In 1893 a hoard of 573 copper coins was discovered in the Gurbāi Salt Factory at Mānikpāṭnā in Purī district[2] of which 47 die struck coins have been classed as Indo-Scythian. These 47 coins show on the obverse standing figure of king Kaniṣka pointing with his right hand down to the fire altar, and on the reverse the figures of MAO or MIIPO, AOPO, and OADO as found on Kanarki coins. Out of the remaining coins, 25 have been lost and rest (501 are cast in crude imitation of the Kanarki coins. All of these show two standing figures, one on each face of the coin with their arms in different positions.

In 1912 another hoard of 910 copper coins of Indo-Scythian type was sent by the Collector of Balasore to the Asiatic Society of Bengal[3] and the latter deposited these coins in the Indian Museum.

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1. *Arch. Surv. India*, XIII, p. 116
2. *Proceedings of A. S. B.* 1895, pp. 61-65.
3. *Arch-Surv-Ind.* (A.R.), 1924-25, p. 130.

The next discovery took place in 1923 when a number of copper coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka along with many imitation Kuṣān coins were found at Bhañjakiā near Khichiñg in the present Mayūrbhañj district[1]. During the excavation of Virāṭgarh at Khichiñg in 1924-25, a few more Kuṣān coins and a number of imitation coins were unearthed. The Khichiñg-Bhañjakiā region has yielded two more hoards—one in May 1939 when 105 imitation Kuṣān coins were found in a brass pot at Nuāgaon, three miles East of Bhañjakiā[2], and the other in November 1953 when a lot of 1060 imitation coins and only one coin of Kaniṣka were discovered at Bhañjakiā.

In 1917 an important hoard of 333 Kuṣān coins were brought to light on the northern slope of the Rākha hills in the district of Siñghbhūm.[3] In 1947 a hoard of 135 such coins was found at Sitābhiñjhi in the district of Keonñjhar and in 1953 the district of Cuttack yielded a number of Kuṣān coins at the Kayemā hill near Dharmaśālā.[4]

Hoernle[5] while discussing about the coins of the Mānikpaṭnā hoard believed that those coins might have been meant for temple offerings as they were found near Purī. He also inferred that those might have been intended as ornaments as well. Vincent Smith[6] was of opinion that those Kuṣān coins might have been issued by the rulers of Kaliñga in the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. But supporting the views of Hoernle he stated that those might have been struck only for use as temple offerings. It was Rapson.[7] who remarked that as the Kuṣān coins were found at different places in Orissa and

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1. *Ibid* p. 38.
2. *J. N. S. I.* II, p. 124.
3. *J, B. O. R. S.*, V, pp. 73 f.
4. *O. H. R. J.*, II, pp. 84 f.
5. *Proceedings of A. S. B.* 1895, pp. 61-65.
6. *C. C. I. M.*, I pp. 92-93.
7. *Indian Coins* p. 13.

Chota-Nagpur there was no reason to suppose them to have been brought by pilgrims. He further pointed out that those coins were cast not for the purpose of ornaments as in that case they would have been provided with some attachments. These coins found in large number in wide area from Chota-Nagpur to Gañjām were undoubtedly a local circulation and the rulers who issued them were definitely of foreign extraction. R. D. Banerji[1] who examind the coins found in Mayūrbhañj suggested that the so-called Mughal invasion recorded in the *Mādalāpāñji* was, in fact, the conquest of the country by the Kuṣāns.[2] But the Kuṣān power is not definitely

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1. *History of Orissa*, 1. p. 113.
2. *Mādalāpāñji* the Jagannāth temple chronicle records that at the beginning of the *Kaliyuga* 18 kings of the Lunar dynasty starting with Yudhiṣthira ruled for a period of 3781 years and during the reign of Sobhanadeva, the pen-ultimate ruler of the dynasty Raktabāhu the Amurā (general) of the Mughal Patisā (Padshah) of Delhi invaded and ravaged Orissa. The Mughals held the kingdom for a period of 146 years till they were ousted by Jajātikeśarī who founded the rule of Keśarī dynasty in Orissa in 474 A. D.

   The above statement of the *Mādalāpāñji* is based on local and epic traditions having little historical value. The rule of 18 kings for 3781 years is an impossibility. Equally fictitious is the account of the invasion of Orissa by the Mughals in the 4th century A. D. as the latter were unknown in India till the 13th century A. D and in the World till the 9th century A. D. The existence of Delhi as the capital of the Mughals in the 4th century A. D. is entirely unhistorical and the rule of the Keśarī dynasty in Orissa is also a historical fiction. But inspite of all these anomalies, exhibiting ignorance of the chronicler it may be said that the above statement of the *Pāñji* preserves a faint memory of a foreign invasion of Orissa in early times.

   Prof. R. D. Banerji is inclined to believe that the so-called Mughal invasion is nothing but the invasion of the Kushans. But as this does not conform to the facts of history, known so far we suggest that this tradition refers to the Muruṇḍa invasion of Kaliñga sometime in the 2nd half of the second century A. D.

known to have xtended as far east as Bihar and Bengal. Altekar[1] refers to a hoard of Kuṣān coins at Buxar discovered in 1950 and infers that even after the expulsion of the imperial Kuṣāns the Hinduised Kuṣāns continued as local rulers and he suggests identification of the Muruṇḍas referred to in the Purāṇas a. d Jaina literature with these local Kuṣān families. This suggestion is illuminating and it may be said that Kuṣān coins found in Orissa were the circu'ation of the local Muruṇḍa power. The real Kuṣān coins so far available in Orissa belong to Kaniṣka and Haviṣka and not a single coin of the succe sors of Huviṣka has come to light so far in this terr itory.

On the basis of this, some scholars are of opinion that the Muruṇḍas of Kaliñga were the feudatories of t he imperial Kuṣāns during the rule of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka and that the Ku ṣān authority continued in Orissa till the reign of Huviṣka. But as pointed out above, Kaliñga continued to be under the Sātavāhanas till th end of the reign of Vāśiṣthiputra Puḷumāvi and, as such. the Muruṇḍa rule in that territory during the first half of the 2nd century A. D. does not seem possible at all.[2]

In course of the excavation at Śiśupālgarh in 1948[3] a copper coin of Huviṣka in a worn out condi ion was found at

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1. *J. N. S. I. XII* pp. 1-4.
2. The number of the proto Kuṣān or imitation Kuṣān coins found in Crissa are much larger than that of the real Kuṣān coins. Very. probably the latter ones came into this territory in the wake of over land trade, while the former ones were issued by the local Muruṇḍa kings signifying their long political asscciatic ns with the Kuṣans during their imperial da y The trad.tic n of the Kuṣān coins lingered in Orissa as late as the 6th 7th century A. D. when such coins bearing the legend '*Taṅkā*' are known to have been circulated.
3. *A. I.* no. 5 p. 72.

a level attributed to the last quarter of the 2nd century A. D. while a gold coin bearing the motif of a Kuṣān king on the obverse and a Roman bust on the rev rse was recovered from the floor level attributed to 2nd-3rd quarter of the 3rd centurv A. D. This i: dicates that the Muruṇḍas were already in power in Kaliñga by the last quarter of the 2nd century A. D. and towards the middle of the 3rd century they were at the zenith of their ascendency when they circulated well designed gold coins.

The gold coin mentioned above[1] contains on the obverse the coin type of Vasudeva I and on the reverse the motif of a Roman bust. Altekar[2] who examined this coin, attributed it to the period later than the Kuṣān king Vasudeva I (cir. 200 A. D.) and earlier than Chandragupta I (cir. 310 A. D.) who introduced new gold currency in Magadha. This coin contains a legend on the reverse the reading of which, as suggested by Alteker[3] is *Ma*] [*hara*] *ja-ra* [*ja*] *dhasa Dhamadamadhara* [*sa*] intended to stand for Mahārāja-Rājādhirāja-Dharmadāmadharasya and according to the same scholar the king "may well have been a Jain and belonged to the Muruṇḍa famliy, which may have ruled over a portion of Bihar and Orissa."[4]

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1. The following is the description of the coin—
   Obverse—King standing to left with peaked helmet and suit of mail, offering by his right hand oblations over an altar in his front, long spear in left hand. Brāhmī legend [*Ma*] [*hara*] *ja-ra* [*ja*] *dhasa Dhamadamadhara* [*sa*]
   Revere—King's head to left copied from imperial Roman coins—legend HΛIEΛI ZNΛI
   The weight of the coin is 81 grains.
2. *J. N. S. I.* XII pp. 1-4.
3. *Ibid*
4. *A. I.* no. 5 pp. 100-101.

From the above discussion it appears clear that a local Muruṇḍa family ruled over an extensive territory from Chhota Nāgpur region of Bihar to the district of Gañjām in Orissa and it probably included a part of West Bengal. King Dharmadāmadhara, who circulated gold coins and bore the title of Mahārādhiraja was very likely ruling over this territory as an independent monarch belonging to the Muruṇḍa family. The *Bhadrk Stone Inscription*[1] reveals that one Mahārāja Gaṇa was ruling over a part of Eastern Orissa during the second half of the 3rd century A. D. His epithet Mahārāja indicates a subordinate position and as such, Gaṇa may be regarded as a vassal[2] of the Muruṇḍa king of this territory.

The *Purāṇas*[3] reveal that a king named Guha was ruling over Kaliṅga, Māhiṣa and Mahendra about the time the Guptas were enjoying the territory comprising Pryāga, Sāketa and Magadha along the Ganges The territory of the Guptas referred to above must be ascribed to the time prior

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1. *E. I.* XXIX, pp. 169 f.
2. It is interesting to note that an oblong clay seal bearing the legend '*Amachasa Pasanakasa*'—*Amātyasya Prasannakasya*—was discovered from the site of Śisupālgarh This seal was not found at the time of excavation and so it can not be placed in stratigraphical sequence and be properly dated. But the characters of the legend bear resemblance to those of the gold coin of Dharmadāmadhara and the stone inscription of Bhadrak and as such, the minister Prasannaka may also be assigned to the second half of the 3rd century A. D. The discovery of a gold coin of a paramount king, stone inscription of a subordinate ruler and a clay seal of a minister, all belonging to the same period is very significant.
3. अनुगङ्गा प्रयागञ्च साकेतं मगधां स्तथा ।
एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ।
कलिङ्ग माहिषश्चैव महेन्द्रनिलयश्चय ।
एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान पालयिष्यति वै गुहाः ॥
Pargiter, *D, K- A* pp. 53-54

to the conquests of Samudragupta and it is generally accepted as a reference to the extent of the empire under Chandragupta I who is credited with the promulgation of the Gupta era in 319-20 A.D.

Dāṭhādhātuvaṁśa[1], one of the Cylonese chronicles present the account of a king of Kaliñga named Guhaśiva who may be identified with king Guha of the *Purāṇas*. According to this chronicle Guhaśiva was a contemporary of king Mahāsena of Ceylon who ruled in 277-304 A.D. The *Dāṭhavaṁśa* is said to have been composed about 310 A.D during the reign of king Kittisirimeghavaṇṇa[2] (Kīrti Śrīmeghavarṇa), the son of Mahāsena. Thus it being a contemporary work, its account about Guhāśiva, inspite of literary embellishments, may be taken as historical. It is known from this work that the tooth relic of Buddha which was being worshipped at Dantapura, the capital of Kaliñga since the time of *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, became a source of trouble during the reign of Guhaśiva. Pāṇḍu the king of Pāṭaliputra who is described as the overlord of Guhaśiva disapproved of the Buddhist leaning of his vassal. He summoned Guhaśiva to Pāṭaliputra where he put the sacred tooth to sacrilegious test, but was subsequently overwhelmed by its miraculous power and was converted to Buddhism. If Guhaśiva is taken to be a Muruṇḍa king, which is very likely, it may be said that the Muruṇḍas towards the end of the 3rd century A. D. were reduced to the status of the feudatories of the king of Magadha.

The sad end of Guhaśiva has been poignantly depicted in the *Dāṭhāvaṁśa*, wherefrom it is known that a neighboring ruler of Kaliñga named Kṣiradhāra invaded Kaliñga to take possession of the tooth relic and Guhaśiva

1. Edited by B. C. Law in Punjab Sanskrit Series.
2. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*. p. 89.

died fighting in the battle-field. But before his death he sent the sacred tooth in the custody of his son-in-law Dantakumāra and daughter Hemamālā to the court of his friend Mahāsena, the king of Ceylon. When Dantakumāra and Hemamālā reached Ceylon, king Mahāsena was no more and his son Sirimeghavaṇṇa was already the ruler of the island. The death of Mahāsena is as ribed to cir. 304 A. D. and as Guhaśiva died a few years earlier, his death may be said to have taken place in cir. 300 A. D. His death probably signified the end of the Muruṇḍa rule in Kaliñga after which the territory plunged into a period of political chaos till the rise of the Māṭhara powers in the second half of the 4th century A. D. By the time when Samudragupta invaded the Deccan about the middle of the 4th century A. D. the Kaliñga region comprised a number of petty principalities having no political unity among them. It may also be mentioned here that the suzerainty of king Pāṇḍu, the overlord of Guhaśiva was short-lived and he or his successor was ousted by the rising power of the Guptas who occupied Magadha with the help of the Lichhavīs about 319-20 A. D.

The Guptas

With the rise of the Guptas, Magadha attained political ascendancy and followed the policy of war and aggression. Samudragupta, the son and successor of Chandragupta I led military campaigns both in Āryāvartta and Dakṣiṇāpatha for building an imperial structure in India. His *Allahabad Pillar Inscription*[1] presents a detailed description of his *digvijaya* from which we know that he led two campaigns in North India and one in South India. In his first North Indian campaigns he defeated Achyuta, the ruler

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1. *C. I. I.* pp. 6 f.

of Ahichhatra region.[1] Nāgasena, the ruler of Padmāvatī[2] and also an unspecified king of the Koṭa family. The victory over these monarchs consolidated the Gupta suzerainty over the Ganges-Jumna valley. His second North Indian compaign resulted in the exterminatiɔn of rulers like Rudradeva[3], Matila[5]. Nāgadatta, Chandravarman,, Gaṇapatināga, Nāgasena; Achyuta, Nanḍin, Balavarman etc.

Among this list, rulers like Ṛudradeva, Matila Nāgadatta, Nandin and Balavarman are yet to be satisfactorily identified. The last three rulers may be said to have belonged to the Nāga family. Nāgasena and Gaṇapatināga[5] were the rulers of the Nāga house of Padmāvatī and the latter was a successor of the fromer. This indicates that Samudragupta actually led two campaigns in Northern India. Chandravarman is generally identified with his namesake mentiond in the *Susunia Inscription*[6] where he is described as

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1. Ahichhatra is modern Rāmnagar in Bareilly district, U.P., where copper coins bearing the legend 'Achyu' have been found. The coin type bears close resemblance to that of some Nāga coins and very probably Achyuta was a Nāga ruler belonging to a collateral branch of the Mathurā family. (vide Allan *C. G, C.* p. xxii; *C. I. C.* p. lxxix. Also the *Vākātaka Gupta Age* 1946. pp. 39-40).
2. According to the *Harṣa charita*, Nāgasena was ruling at padmāvati identified with the present Padam pawayaya 25 miles North east of Narwar at the confluence of Sindhu and Para.
3. Rudradeva is generally identified with Rudrasena I Vākātaka, but it seems untenable as the Vākātakas bel ong to Dakṣiṇāpatha. Coins of a king named Rudradeva have been found at Kosām, the ancient Kausāmbī and this king may be indentified with his namesake in the *Allahabad Inscription.*
4. He is probably identical with Mattila of the seal found at Bulandshahr.
5. Coins of Gaṇapatināga have been found at Narwar and Besnagar also at Mathurā.
6. *E. I.* XII pp. 317 f. XIII p. 133.

the ruler of Puṣkaraṇa which is the same as modern Pokharaṇā on the Damodar river in Bāṅkuṛā district.[1]

The South Indsan campaign of Samudragupta is of importance for our discussion and in the light of the *Allahbad Inscription* it may be said that this took place in between his two North Indian campa'gns. The rulers of South India who are said to have been defeated by the Gupta invader are mentio ed below in order of enumeration.[3]

Mahendra of South Kosala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Maṇṭarāja of Korāla, Mahendragiri of piṣṭapura, Svāmidatta of Kottūra, Damana of Erāṇḍapalla, Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchi, Nīlarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Veṅgī, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kubera of Devarāṣṭra, Dhanañjaya of Kustalāpura.

Among these rulers, the first six and the eleventh one come under the purview of our discussion as they were ruling over the territories comprising Kosala and Kaliṅga regions. Kosala the territory of king Mahendra, is without doubt the same as South Kosala comprising the modern districts of Bilaspur and Raipur in Madhya Pradesh and the district of Sambalpur in Orissa. Contiguous with this kingdom was lying the territory known as Mahākāntāra which according to the

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1. As most of the adversaries of Samudragupta in the Āryāvartta belonged to the Nāga family, Chandravarman may also be a Nāga king of Vidisā where two kings named Sadāchandra and Chandrāṁśa are known to have ruled by that time. Tne second king was a ruler of importance and might have been an opponent of the Gupta monarch. (For the Nāga kings of Vidisā see Pargiter *D. K. A* p. 49).

2. कौसलक महेन्द्र मह [।] कान्ता क व्याघ्रराज कौरालक मण्टराज पैष्टपुरक महेन्द्रगिरि कौट्टूरक स्वामिदत्तैरण्डपल्लक दमन काञ्चेयक विष्णुगोपावमुक्तक नीलराज वैङ्गेयक हस्तिवर्म्म पालक्कक्कोग्रसेन दैवराष्ट्रक कुवेर कौस्थल पुरक धनञ्जय प्रभृति·····

(*Allahabad Inscription*), Ll. 19–20

Mahābhārata[1] extended from the East of Kosala upto the banks of the river Veṇā (Waingañgā), a tributary of the Godāvarī. This territory is generally identified with the kingdom of king Vyāghra, father of Jayanātha belonging to the Uchchakalpa family, who was a feudatory of the Vākāṭakas. Inscriptions of this king are found at Nach-ne-ki-talai and Gañj in Madhya Pradesh.[2] But this king was the ruler of the Bundelkhand region, North of the Vindhyas and hence, cannot be classed with the rulers of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Mahākāntāra appears to be the same as Mahāvana referred to in two of the *Amarāvatī Stūpa Inscriptions*[3] and may be identified with the wild tracts of modern districts of Kalāhāndi and Korāput[4]. Vyāghrarāja, the king of Mahākāntāra gallantly fought with Samudragupta but was ultimately defeated by him. If the tiger type coins, which depict the emperor Samudragupta as overpowering a tiger, be said to have represented this war, the victory over Vyāghrarāja was considered a very significant one by the emperor himself. After reducing Mahākāntāra, Samudragupta defeated king Maṇṭarāja of Korāla, a territory which is identified by many scholars[5] with the Sonepur region of Bolangir district. Barnett[6] suggests identification of this place with Koraḍa in South India and scholars like Vincent Smith[7] and Jayaswal[8] locate

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1. *Sabhā Parva*, xxxi.
2. *C. I. I.* III. p. 233.
   E. I. XVII p. 12.
3. Burgess, *Notes on Amarāvatī Stūpa-Inscriptions*, nos. 8 and 231.
4. See *J. A. H. R. S*, I. pp. 228-37.
5. R. N. Dandekar-*History of the Guptas* p. 51.
   H. C. Raychaudhuri. *P. H. A. I*, 1950-p. 539,
   S. Chattopadhaya. *E. H. N. I.* 1958 p. 153.
6. *B. S. O. S* II p. 569.
7. *E. H. I.* 4th Ed. p. 300 fn. 3.
8. *History of India* p. 136.

it in the territory on the bank of the Kolleru (Kollair) lake, but as pointed by Raychaudhuri[1] this place must be within the territory of Hastivarman of Veñgī mentioned separately in the *Allahabad Inscripition.* According to S. N. Rajguru,[2] Korāla may be the same as Kolaulapura pattana or Kokolavalapurapattana found in the records of Eastern Gañgas of Kaliñga and identified with the modern town of Kulāḍa in Ghumsur Taluk of Gañjām district. But the name Kolaulapurapattana which is the same as Kolāhalapura was the seat of the Western Gañgas and has been identified with Kolar in Mysore. If Kolaulapurapattana is taken to be the town established by the Eastern Gañgas in Kaliñga and named after the original Kolāhalapura of the Western Gañgas, this town must be ascribed to the period much later than that of Samudragupta.

The Sonepur region of Bolangir district which was contiguous to Mahākosala may be said to have represented the territory of Korāla. The villages named Baḍa-Karalā and Sāna-Karalā near Binkā (Vinītapura of medieval epigraphs) are very likely the reminiscent of the name of ancient Korāla. This region is located in the Añg river valley and is found rich in antiquities datable to both pre-Gupta and post-Gupta periods and also occupies an important position in between the territories of Mahākosala and Mahākāntāra.

Mahākosala, Mahākāntāra and Korāla comprised the Western and the South-western parts of modern Orissa and the exact territorial limits of these three kingdoms are difficult to be determined. It seems that Samudragupta started his campaign from the Jumna valley more particularly from Kausāmbī and marching through the

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1. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 539.
2. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, II pp. 343-345.

modern Rewa and Jabalpur regions entered into the territory of South-Kosal. After subduing Kosal, Mahākāntāra and Korāla he could easily proceed towards the Eastern coast through the ancient trade route that linked Kosala with Kaliñga[1].

The territory of Kaliñga, as pointed out above, was no longer a unitary and compact State capable of offering a formidable resistance against the invaders. This territory was then divided into not less than four principalities, namely, Kottura, Eraṇḍapalla, Devarāṣṭra and Piṣṭapura, each being under the rule of a petty chieftain. Svāmidatta, the ruler of Kottura is said to be the first chief of this region to be defeated by Samudragupta. Kottur has been identified with modern Kothoor about 12 miles to the South of Mahendra hills, and after occupying this territory Samudragupta must have marched towards Eraṇḍapalla and Devarāṣṭra ruled respectively by Damana and Kubera. These two kingdoms have already been identified in Chapter II with modern Eraṇḍapalli and Yellamanchili respectively in Śrīkākulaṁ and Visākhāpātnaṁ districts.[2] The name Damana suggests that this king was probably an ancestor of Mahārāja Śatrudamana known to us as the ruler of Girikaliñga or Trikaliñga from the *Peddaduggaṁ Copper plate Charter*.[3] The

1. It was probably through this route that the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chwang travelled in the 7th century A. D. from the capital of Kaliñga to the capital of Kosala, a distance of 1800 li.
2. Dr. Fleet identified Eraṇḍapalla with Eraṇḍol in Khāndesh and Devarāṣṭra with Mahārāṣṭra. But J. Dubreuil has proved that these places are respectively identical with Eraṇḍapalli a town near Chicacole and Yellamanchili (*Ancient History of the Deccan* pp. 58-60 and 160). Eraṇḍapalla has been mentioned in *Siddhāntaṁ Plates* of Devendravarman of Kaliñga, (*E. I.* XIII p. 213) and Devarāṣṭra finds mention in *Śriṅgavarapukota Grant* of king Anantavarman of Kaliñga (*E. I.* XXVIII p. 564).
3. *E. I.* XXXI pp. 89-93.

god Damaneśvara who was the tutelary deity of this family seems to have been installed by king Damana and from this consideration Damaneśvara may be regarded as the earilest known Śaivite god in Kaliñga.

The next ruler of the Kaliñga region, encountered by Samudragupta, was Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura identified with modern Piṭhāpuraṁ in Godāvarī district. After subjugation of this territory the campaign of Samudragupta in Kaliñga was successfully over and the victor triumphantly crossed the river Godāvarī and proceeded towards Veñgī over which king Hastivarman was ruling. The Southern kings claimed to have been defeated by him are Hastivarman, the Sālaṅkāyana king of Veñgī (Peddavegi), Viṣṇugopa, the Pallava king of Kāñchi (Canjeevaraṁ), Nīlarāja of Avamukta (not satisfactorily identified), Ugrasena of Palakka (Palakkaḍa in Nellore district) and Dhanañjaya of Kusthalāpura (identified with Kuttalur in North-Arcot district). The last three rulers are obscure figures in history and are not known to us from any other source, while Hastivarman and Viṣṇugopa belonging respectively to Sālaṅkāyana and Pallava dynasties, were famous kings in the South. Hastivarman is known from the *Pedda-vegi Grant*[1] of Nandivarman II, where he is described as a conqueror of many battles (अनेकसमराबत विजयिनः) and Viṣṇugopa Varman I is also described in the grants[2] of his son as one who obtained vitory and glory by dint of his valour and courage in many a battle (अनेक संग्राम साहसावमर्दोपलब्ध विजय यशः)

J. Dubreuil[3] has suggested that Samudragupta advanced as far as the river Kṛṣṇā, was opposed by

1. *Bhārati*-August 1224.
2. *E. I.* VIII pp. 159 f ; *E. I.* Vol. XV. pp. 253 f.
   Coustesy, B. V. Krishna-Rao, *Early Dynsties of Andhradesa*, p. 37∠.
3. *A. H. D.* pp, 60-61.

a confederacy of kings of the Eastern Deccan and being repulsed, abandoned his conquets in the Orissan coasts and returned to Magadha. Jayaswal[1] is of opinion that the Southern potentates were grouped under two chief leaders-Maṇṭarāja of Korāla and Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchi and that Samudragupta fought his decisive battle in the Colair lake region. Such suggestion is no doubt speculative as it is contrary to the evidences of the *Allahabad Inscription*. But the statements in the inscription being of dubious nature, have naturally given rise to confusion and controversy. Hariseṇa, the royal panegyrist who was also a Minister of Peace and War, seems to have no personal knowledge about the geographical location of the territories through which his sovereign led his compaign. He has narrated the route of the conquest in a careless and rhapsodic manner with scant regard to geographical order. The Gupta invader proceeds from Kosala to Mahākāntāra and from there to Korāla in the Aṅg valley and after that goes straight to Piṣṭapura in the Godāvarī valley. From Piṣṭapura he comes back to Kottura near Mahendragiri in Gañjām and then again proceeds towards Kāñchi through Eraṇḍapalli in Śrikākulam district. From Kāñchi he once again proceeds to the North to conquer Veṅgī, after which he marches again to the South to defeat Ugrasena of Palakka in Nellore district. Then again for the third time he proceeds Northwards to Devarāṣṭra in Viśākhāpāṭnaṁ district and defeating king Kubera marches Southwards again upto Kushthalāpura or Kuttalur in North Arcot district. A critical study of the campaigns in South India narrated by no less a person than a Minister of Peace and War, who must have accompanied his master in his victorious march, gives rise to suspicion that the account of the conquests in South India has been presented beyond truth and accuracy. Moreover, the

1. *History of India* pp. 135-39.

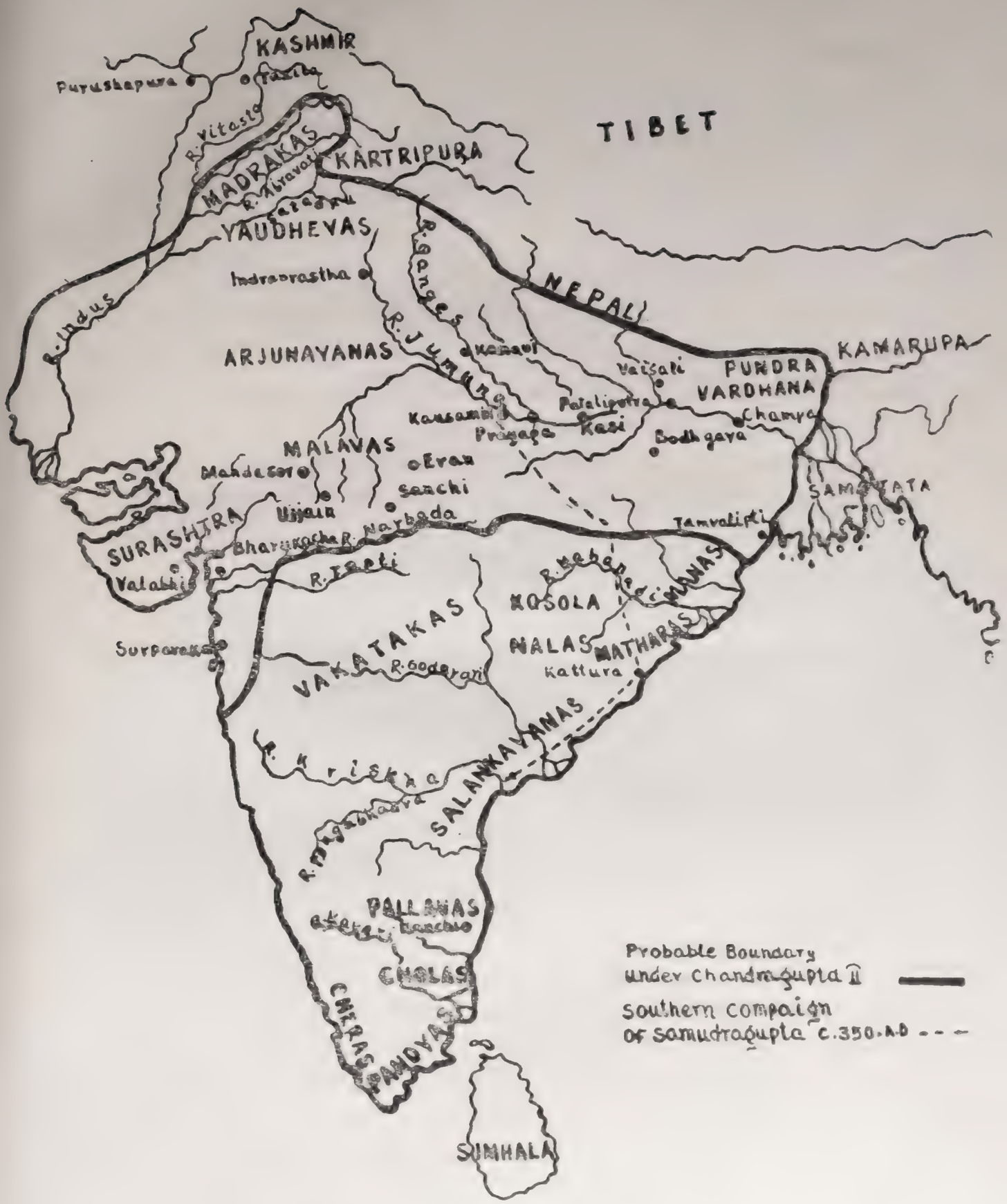
dealings of Samudragupta with the vanquished kings in South India is found very different from his treatment towards his foes in other parts of India. In North India he violently uprooted the kings he fought with; in Central India he made all the Āṭavika chiefs his servants; the frontier kings of North-eastern India and the Himālayan region, as well as, the tribal states of the Punjab, Western India, Malwa and Central Provinces had to gratify the imperious command of the Magadhan monarch by giving all kinds of taxes, obeying orders and attending his court to perform obeisance, while the foreign potentates like the Kuṣans, Śakas and the Muruṇḍas, as well as, the people of Simhala and other island dwellers purchased peace by acts of homage, such as offer of personal service, gifts of maidens and soliciting charters bearing the *Garuḍa* seal of the emperor. But the South Indian kings were all reinstated in their respective kingdoms and were not required to perform any obligation. This clearly indicates that the suzerainty of Samudragupta did not extend over South India and the victorious achievements of the Gupta monarch in the territories South of the Vindhyas as recorded in the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* shoud be regarded as an exaggerated claim.

Was Kaliñga included in the Gupta empire ?

No other Gupta emperor has claimed to have made any military campaign towards the South. The post-Samudragupta period witnessed a remarakble rise of Kaliñga under the rulers of the Māṭhara family and her political supremacy extended from the river Mahānadī in the North to the Godāvarī and even sometime upto the Kṛṣṇā in the South.[1] The Māṭharas ruled upto C 500 A. D. and none of the kings of this dynasty is known to be under the suzerainty of the Gupta emperors.

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1. See *Infra* Ch. VII.



INDIA 350 – 400 AD

The Gupta empire ceased to exist in India by the middle of the 6th century A. D. A tradition recorded in the *Harivaṁśa*[1] by Jinasena reveals that the Guptas ruled for a period of 231 years and according to this tradition the Gupta suzerainty ended in 550 A. D, (319+231). The last known Gupta record is the *Dāmodarpur Copper plate Inscription*[2] dated in the Gupta year 224 i. e. 543 A. D. The *Haraha Inscription*[3]

गुप्तानां च शतद्वयं एकत्रिंशच्च वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतं..... ।

(*Harivaṁśa Ch. lx*)

1. This work was composed in Śaka year 705 i. e., A. D. 783 (winternitz. *Hist. Ind. Lit.* II. p. 495), This tradition is corroborated by another Jaina work called *Tiloya Paṇṇatti* composed by Jadi Vasaha (J. O. I, III. :pp. 296-97). Verse 1608 of this work reads :

गुत्ताणं रज्जे दोण्णि सयाणि इगितिसा

meaning that the Guptas ruled for 231 years. But the same work in verses 1503-04 records a different tradition which reads as follows.

जादो य सगणरिंदो रज्जं वंसस्स

दुसयबादलादोण्णि सदा पणवण्णा गुत्ताणं

This means that the Śakas ruled for 242 years after which the Guptas ruled for 255 years. The Śaka year 242 corresponds to the initial year of the Gupta era and the Gupta year 256 to A. D. 575, Dr, D. C. Sircar is of opinion that out of the two Jaina traditions regarding 231 years and 255 years of duration of Gupta rule, the first relates to the extirpation of the Guptas from their home province in Bihar and U. P. and the second refers to the final over throw of the Guptas from Bengal and Orissa, (*J. I. H.* XXXIV, p. 290),

The view that the Gupta rule in Bengal and Orissa ended in 575 A. D. has no historical basis. There is no evidence to prove that the Gupta rule ever existed in Orissa, while Gupta rule in Bengal came to an end about 510 A. D. when Mahārājādhirāja Vainyagupta was succeeded by Gopachandra who laid the foundation of a new ruling dynasty, which continued at least for three generations, Out of the two traditions recorded in the *Tiloya-Paṇṇatti*, the first one referring to the period of Gupta rule for 231 years seems to be approximately correct, while the second one, declaring the same Gupta rule to have lasted for 255 years, is confounding and very likely untenable.

2. *E. I.* XV. p. 142 f, *Ibid* XVII p. 193 f.
3. *E. I.* XIV. pp. 110-121.

of the time of the Maukharī king Īśānavarman dated in Saṁvat 611 (553 A.D.) reveals that the very heart of the Gupta empire was already under the rule of the Maukharīs by that time and this has been corroborated by the *Deo-Barnārk Inscription*[1] which refers to the rule of Sarvavarman and Avantivarman, the son and grandson respectively of Īśānavarman over Magadha region. The *Amauna Copper plate Grant*[2] issued in Gupta year 232 (552 A. D.) by Nandana a chief of the Gayā region, makes no reference to the Gupta overlord and it indicates that the rule of the imperial Gupta line no longer existed in Magadha by that time. These records conclusively prove that the Gupta empire collapsed by the middle of the 6th century A.D.

D. C. Sircar, on the basis of the *Sumaṇḍala Copper plate Inscription*[3] of the time of Pṛthivīvigraha dated in Gupta year 250 i. e. 569-70 A.D., is inclined to prove that Orissa at that time formed a part of the Gupta empire. The date portion of the *Sumaṇḍala Inscription* has been expressed as follows :—

वर्त्तमान गुप्तराज्ये वर्षशतद्वये पञ्चाशदुत्तरे.....

The word वर्त्तमान of this inscription is explained by Sircar in the sense of 'existing', but it actually conveys the sense of प्रवर्त्तमान meaning promulgated. It may be pointed out that in the *Kaṇāsa Copper plate Inscription*[4] of Lokavigraha belonging to the same Vigraha family, the word प्रवर्त्तमान is found in place of वर्त्तमान. The date portion of the *Kaṇāsa Inscription* reads :

प्रवर्त्तमाने गुप्तरा [ज][5] संवत्सरे अ [सि] त्युत्तर शत [द्व] ये .....

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1. *C. I. I.* III p. 215 ff.
2. *E. I.* X p. 50.
3. *E. I.* XXVIII pp. 79-85.
4. *E. I.* XXVIII pp. 328-331.
5. Should be read as गुप्तराज्य; Dr. Sircar reads- गुप्त[का]ल

Thus, the Sumaṇḍala and the Kaṇāsa inscriptions refer respectively to the years 250 and 280 of the era promulgated in the Gupta rājya and they do not convey any sense of existence of the Gupta kingdom in the years 250 and 280 of the same era.

In order to assert the fact that the Gupta empire was in existence as late as 569-70 A. D, Sircar explains the *Sumaṇḍala Copper plate Inscription* as follows :—[1]

"The present inscription indicating the continuity of the imperial Gupta rule as late as A. D. 569 thus seems to suggest that even after the disintegration of the empire, there were some members of the family who claimed the status of their imperial predecessors, whether their position was nominal like that of James III of England or of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II and his successors can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. There is, however, no doubt that till A. D. 569 Viceroys like Prithivī vigraha-bhaṭṭāraka of Kaliñga continued their allegiance to the Gupta Emperor. The word Bhaṭṭāraka attached to Prithivīvigraha's name may suggest that he ruled practically as an independent monarch ; but he did so without officially throwing off the yoke of the Guptas. It is possible to conjecture that he had blood relationship with the Guptas and was eager to display it to improve his own case against those of other rival rulers of the country".

We are, however, unable to accept the above views and inferences of the learned scholar. The *Sumaṇḍala Inscription* is issued by Mahārāja Dharmarāja, a feudatory of Pṛthivī vigraha, who is sufficiently indicated in the inscription

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3. *E. I.* XXVIII pp. 81-82.

as an independent ruler of Kaliñga. No-where it is suggested that Pṛthivīvigraha was a viceroy of the Gupta emperor or that he had blood relationship with the Guptas. The inference regarding viceroyalty of the Guptas, seems rather strange, because no where in India a Gupta emperor was existing in 569-70 A.D.[1] The Gupta era which started in 319-20 A.D., was accepted in course of time as one of the standard eras of India and it is found to be in vogue long after the collapse of the Gupta rule in India.[2] In Orissa, besides the *Sumaṇḍala* and the *Kaṇāsa Inscriptions, the Soro*[3] and *Paṭiākellā*[4] *Inscriptions* of Saṁbhūyaśas, the ruler of Toṣalī are dated in the Gupta years 260 (580 A.D.) and 283 (603 A.D.) respectively, while the *Gañjāṁ Inscription*[5] of Mādhavarāja II, the ruler of Koñgoda is recorded in the Gupta year 300 i. e. 620 A. D. The mere use of the Gupta era does not mean the continuation of the Gupta suzerainty and in this considera-

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1. The Gupta empire collapsed by the middle of the 6th century A. D. and no Gupta emperor is known to have flourished after that till the death of Harṣavardhana in 647 A. D. A new Gupta empire raised its head about the middle of the 7th century A. D. under Ādityasena, whose activities are known from the *Aphsad, Shahpur* and *Mandar Inscriptions*. The *Aphsad Inscription* (*C. I. I.* III, p. 200) of Ādityasena the first emperor of this new line and the *Deo-Barnārk Inscription* (*C. I. I.* III p. 213) of Jivita Gupta II the last of the line, indicates that the Guptas had imperial power and dignity in Magadha and North-India during the second half of the 7th century A. D. But no imperial Gupta monarch was existing for about a century from cir. 550 A. D. to 650 A. D.
2. The *Boṭād Plates* of the time of Dhruvasena II of Valabhi has been dated in Gupta year 310 i. e. A. D. 630.
3. *E. I.* XXIII pp. 197. f.
4. *E.I.* IX pp. 285 f.
5. *E. I.* VI pp. 143 f.

tion the *Sumaṇḍala Inscription* need not be taken as an evidence of the Gupta rule in Kaliṅga.

It is evident that like other states in South India Kaliṅga did not form a part of the empire of Samudragupta. The impact of his invasion, however, produced far reaching results in this territory. It broke down the small principalities and paved the way for political unity under the hegemony of a powerful dynasty named Māṭhara which came to prominence shortly after the retreat of the Gupta emperor and ruled over Kaliṅga as an independent power for about a century and a half.

Sircar[1] further supports his theory by the *Pedda-Dugaṁ Copper plates* of king Śatrudamana who ruled over Giri-Kaliṅga (in cir. 5th century A. D.) from his head-quarters at Siṁhapura identified with modern Siṅgupuraṁ near Śrīkākulaṁ. The inscription declares king Śatrudamana as a subordinate of one *Bhaṭṭāraka* (*Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda–parigṛhita)* and Sircar assumes that the epithet *Bhaṭṭāraka* in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. was used by the feudatories of the Guptas in reference to their imperial overlord. It may be pointed out that the epithet *Bhaṭṭāraka* was not a monopoly of the imperial Gupta rulers during the period mentioned above Śaktivarman, the Māṭhara king of Kaliṅga (cir. 400-420 A. D.), is referred to as Śakti Bhaṭṭāraka in the *Andhavaraṁ Copper plate Inscription* of his son Ananta-Śaktivarman. The Nala king Arthapati, who ruled over Bastar-Koraput region in cir. 465-75 A. D. is called Śrī Mahārāja Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka, both in the *Kesaribeḍā* and *Riṭhāpur Copper plate Inscriptions*. Pṛthivī-vigraha, the ruler of Kaliṅga in 570 A.D. is thus declared as a *Bhaṭṭāraka* in the

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1. *J. I. H.* XXXIV. p. 283.

Sūmaṇḍala Copper plate Grant, and there is no cogent reason to believe that this epithet was borne only by the Gupta monarchs. Mahārāja Śatrudamana of the *Pedda-dugaṁ Grant* was very likely the feudatory of the Māṭhara king Śaktivarman of Kaliṅga who was ruling over the territory extending from the Mahānadī to the Kṛṣṇā from his headquarters Piṣṭapura during the first quarter of the 5th century A. D. Neither the *Sumaṇḍala Grant* nor the *Pedda-dugaṁ Charter*, thus bears testimony to the fact that the Gupta empire extended as far as the Gañjāṁ-Śrīkākulaṁ region in the South-east.

Cultural progress during the period.

The present chapter covering the period from the 1st century A. D. to 350 A. D. gives a picture of political instability. The first century saw the decline of the Meghavāhanas,which was precipitated by fratricidal wars. The Sātavāhanas who had been crushed by the Meghavāhanas during the rule of Khāravela retaliated their defeat by putting an end to the Meghavāhana rule over Kaliṅga. But their sway over Kaliṅga continued for hardly more than two generations and an Indo-Scythian tribe commonly known as Muruṇḍas took possession of Kaliṅga and ruled over an extensive territory from Chota Nāgapur to Gañjām. The Muruṇḍa rule was violently intercepted about 300 A. D. after which Kaliṅga plunged into a state of political chaos giving rise to centrifugal forces which brought division and disunity. The weak and divided Kaliṅga naturally provoked Magadha and Samudragupta who marched upto South Kosala, Korāla and Mahākāntāra, lost no time in coming over to the Eastern coast to reduce the petty principalities in Kaliṅga. But as pointed out above, the storm of Gupta invasion brought about a levelling effect and after its retreat Kaliṅga emerged with new life and vigour to play an important role in history.

Religious condition.

But inspite of the political instability the period witnessed considerable progress in religious and cultural activities. During the rule of Khāravela Jainism developed in a great scale, but with the decline of the Meghavāhana power this religion received a set-back and Buddhism once again stepped into prominence. The most important event in the history of Buddhism is the rise of Mahāyāna about the first century A. D. and to the process of this development Orissa seems to have made remarkable contribution. The Mahāyānic trend of Buddhism may be traced since the days of Aśoka and attempts were made by the Buddhists not only to make the Śākyamuni as the presiding Buddha of the Universe, but also to bring the abstruse ideologies of Buddhism to the level of consciousness of common men. Among different schools into which Buddhism was divided, the protagonists of two principal schools, namely Mahāsaṁghika and Sarvāstivāda vied with one another in their missionary activities and made Buddhism a great popular appeal. The followers of the Sarvāstivāda school successfully preached the doctrine of *Pāramitā* according to which the common man might attain Buddhahood by performing some perfectionary virtues. The idea of *Pāramitās* changed the outlook of Buddhism and led to the growth of a vast literature named *Prajñāpāramitā*. In the history of Buddhism the period from Aśoka upto the composition of the *Prajñāpāramitā works*, is commonly known as the period of Semi-Mahāyāna. Full-fledged Mahāyānic system may be said to have come into being with the production of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature which represented the theistic conception of Buddha and enunciated the philosophy of *Dharmaśūnyatā* or *Tathatā* to bolster up the popular appeal of Buddhism.[1] Researches

1. For a detailed discussion about origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism see '*Buddhism in Orissa*' Ch. V. pp. 58-78.

made in the field of *Prajñāpāramitā* literature have revealed that the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* is the earliest work of this class[1], and this work as known from Tibetan tradition was composed in Orissa. About the composition of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* Lāmā Tārānāth remarks as follows :[2]

"Shortly after the time of king Mahāpadma there lived in the land of Oḍiviśā king Chandragupta to whose house the venerable Mañjuśrī came in the guise of a Bhikṣu and delivered the different Mahāyāna teachings and even left behind a book. The *Sautrāntikas* maintain that it was the *Prajñāpāramitā* of eight thousand ślokas but the *Tantra school* maintains that it was the *Tattvasaṁghraha.* Whatever may be the case, I think, without wishing to contradict anything, that the first view is proper. This is the beginning of the appearance of Mahāyāna among men after the passing away of the Teacher." This has further been corroborated by the author of the *Pāg-Sām-Jon-Zāñg*[3] who also declares that

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1. N. Dutt—*Aspects of Mahāyān Buddhism etc.* pp. 328 f. The antiquity of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikī* may be proved from the following facts.
   (a) This was the earliest *Prajñāpāramitā* work to be translated into Chinese.
   (b) The philosopher Nāgārjuna (2nd century A.D.) wrote the commentary on this work.
   (c) It speaks of *Rūpakāya* and Dharmakāya only and not of *Saṁbhogakāya* found in later Mahāyānic works.
   (d) It does not appear to have known the *Bhūmi* conception of Mahāyāna.
   (e) Other *Prajñā pāramitā* works particularly the *Śatasāhasrikā* utilise topics discussed in the *Aṣṭa.*
2. *Tārānāth* p. 58; *I.H.Q.* VII p. 252.
3. *Pāg-Sām-Jon-Zāñg*, p. 82.

Mahāyāna had its beginning in Oḍiviśā shortly after Mahāpadmananda. The chronology of kings presented by *Tārānāth* and *Pāg-Sām-Jon-Zāñg* need not, however, be taken too seriously. The important fact revealed by these authorities, is that the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* was composed in Orissa leading to the full-fledged development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The date of its composition is, however, difficult to be determined. But as this work was translated into Chinese by Lokarakṣa about 148 A. D.[1] and the philosopher Nāgārjuna wrote a commentary on it in the 2nd century A D. its composition may be assigned to the first century A. D. This was the period when actual Mahāyāna had its beginning in Orissa.

The second century A. D. witnessed the development of doctrines and philosophy in the fold of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Nāgārjuna[2] the expounder of the *Mādhyamika* philosophy flourished sometime during this period and his monastery was located according to Yuan-Chwang at *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li*[3] or Parimalagiri identified with modern Gandhagiri (Gandhamārdan hills) on the borders of Sambalpur and Bolangir districts.[4] Nāgārjuna was patronised by king Sātakarṇi (She-yen-te-ke[5]) indentified with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who flourished in the first quarter of the 2nd century A. D. Sātakarṇī constructed for Nāgārjuna on the *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li* a magnificent *vihāra* having cloisters and lofty halls. These halls were arranged in five tiers

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1. Nañjio, *Catalogue*, p. 3.
2. For the activities of Nāgārjuna see *Buddhism in Orissa* pp. 95-102.
3. *Watters, II* p. 201.
4. For this identification see *Buddhism in Orissa* pp. 99-100.
5. Takakusu, *I-Tsing*, p. 159.

each with four courts with temples containing life-size gold images of Buddha.[1] The monastery was widely famous as a seat of *Mādhyamika* philosophy and large number of scholars were studying this system of thought under the famous philosopher Nāgārjuna. It was to this monastery that Āryadeva[2] came all the way from Siṁhapura of Kaliñga to make researches on *Mādhyamika* philosophy. Nāgārjuna was not only a famous dialectician but also a prolific writer and a number of dialectical and philosophical works have been attributed to his authorship.[3] His disciple Āryadeva also made profound contribution to the *Mādhyamika* thoughts and the *Chatuḥśataka*[4] written by him is considered to be an important work of this school of philosophy. Side by side with the development of the *Mādhyamika* system, Mahāyāna Buddhism gave rise to an idealist school of philosophy called *Yogāchāra* or *Vijñānavāda*. The expounder of this philosophy is believed to be Maitreyanātha who flourished in the 3rd century A. D. and after him this school of thought made rapid progress with two great philosophers named Asañga and Vasuvandhu who lived sometime during the

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1. *Watters*-op. cit.
2. For Āryadeva and his place of origin see '*Buddhism in Orissa*' pp. 102-106.
3. Only twenty four out of his many works have come down to us. *I.A.* XVI p. 169. According to watters II p. 204, only twenty of his works are known at present. Vide Nañjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1169, 1180, 1185, 1246, 1251, etc. See also S.C. Vidyābhuṣan, *History of Indian Logic* (Calcutta University).
4. Tne text is preserved in Chinese; fragments of the Sanskrit original was discovered and edited by H. P. Sastri in *Memoirs of A.S.B.* III, No. 8 pp. 449 514. Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya has re-constructed it with copious extracts from the commentary of Chandrakiritti-*Viśvabhārati Studies*. No. 2

4th century A. D.[1] Orissa is also known to have made considerable headway in this branch of philosophy as early as the 3rd century A. D. The *Gaṇḍavyūha*[2] reveals that a monastery located on the summit of the hill called Surabhagiri[3] in Toṣala was a famous centre of the *Yogāchāra* system and many scholars were studying this philosophy under a monk named Sarvagāmī who lived about the third century A. D. Surabhagiri has been indentified with the modern Dhaulīgiri bearing a set of rock edicts of Aśoka.

Among popular centres of Buddhism that developed during this time in different parts of Orissa mention may be made of Hirumu, modern Hirāmaṇḍala on the Nāgāvalī river, Papilā, modern Papiliā near Sitāviñjhi in Keoñjhar district and Puphagiri or Puṣpagiri which is yet to be satisfactorily identified. One of the inscriptions[4] of the Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa dated in the 14th regnal year of king Mādhariputa (Māṭharīputra) Śrīvirapurisadata (3rd century A. D.) records the religious endowments of Upāsikā Bodhiśrī and it is known from this inscription that Bodhiśrī dedicated among other endowments three *apavārakas* near the *Stūpa* at Hirumu, seven *apavārakas* at Papilā and a *Śaila maṇḍapa* at Puphagiri. Hirumu or Hirāmaṇḍala appears to be a variant of Irāmaṇḍala (the Tāmil Ilāmaṇḍalam) which is

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1. According to Prof. Ui the dates of these scholars are as follows:— Maitreyanātha, Asaṅga's teacher 270-350 A.D., Asaṅga 310-390 A D., Vasuvandhu 320-400 A.D. vide *Indian Studies in honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, 1929. p. 102.
2. R. L. Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* p. 90. The Gaṇḍavyūha was translated into Chinese under the direction of Buddhabhadra between A.D. 398-421, under the direction of Sikṣānanda between 695-699 A.D. and by Prājña between 796-98 A D.
3. See Ch. II.
4. *E. I.* XX. pp. 21 f.

another name of Ceylon.[1] It may be pointed out that a monastery called *Sihala vihāra* (Ceylon monastery) was located by that time in the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī doab and it was in this monastery that Upāsikā Bodhiśrī constructed a temple enshrining the Bodhi tree. It appears that the Ceylonese Buddhism which made a rapid rise in 3rd century A. D. extended its influence over the main land of India and it was through its medium that Ceylon attempted to pay back her spiritual debt to India. The *Sihalavihāra* in Veñgī, the *Stūpa* at Hirumu (Hirāmaṇḍala) in Kaliñga and the *Mahābodhi Saṁghārāma* at Bodhagayā in Magadha represented the spiritual and cultural contribution of Ceylon to India during the 3rd-4th century A. D.

Papilā, where Bodhiśrī caused to contruct seven *apavārakas* (shelters), has already been identified with Papiliā of Keonjhar district. Close to this village there are seven rock-cut caves which are very likely the seven *apavārakas* of Bodhiśrī. These rock shelters are locally known as Khaṇṭaghara. Puphagiri or Puṣpagiri where Bodhiśrī dedicated a *śailamaṇḍapa* is, without doubt, the same as *peu-sie-po-ki-li* of Yuan chwang who visited the place in the 7th century A. D. This was a centre of popular Buddhism as early as the 3rd century A. D. and continued to be one of the most famous Buddhist establishments of India till the 7th century A. D.

Thus, Buddhism in both its popular and philosophical aspects developed in Kaliñga during the period under review.

It has been pointed out above that Jainism had a set-back in Kaliñga with the decline of the Mahāmegha-

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1. *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 46.
E. I. XIV. p. 361.

vāhanas in the first century A. D. This religion revived to a considerable extent during the period when Kaliñga was under the Muruṇḍas. The medieval Jain works have made frequent references to the Muruṇḍa kings who were patrons of Jainism. According to Altekar[1] Mahārāja Dharmadāmadhara who ruled over parts of Bihar and Orissa and circulated gold coins "may well have been a Jain and belonged to the Muruṇḍa family." King Guhaśiva who has been taken to be the last Muruṇḍa king of Kaliñga, was at first a Jain king and later on was converted to Buddhism by the influence of his Buddhist Minister. The *Dāṭhāvaṁśa* speaks in derogatory terms about the Jains of Kaliñga and reveals its strong intolerance against that religion. It states that Guhaśiva was worshipping the Niganṭhas (Jains) "who were cunning, enveloped in the darkness of ignorance, hankering after gain and fame and ignorant of the welfare of their own and of others".[2] Such invective of the Buddhist chronicle indicates that there was bitter rivalry between Buddhism and Jainism at that time.

During this period the Āchāryas of Jainism seem to have remained satisfied with delivering discourses to those who were interested in that religion and there was probably no organised missionary activities among the propagators. The *Añgas* and the *Pūrvas* restored at the council of Pāṭalīputra about 300 B. C. bagan to be forgotten and so attempts were made in the 4th century A. D. to reorganise Jainism and to revive its scriptures. But unfortunately the Śvetāṁbaras and the Digaṁbaras had already developed into rival sects and the attempts of reorga-

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1. *Ancient India*, no. 5 pp. 100-101.
2. सपरत्थानभिञ्ञे सो लाभासक्कारलोलुपे ।
मायाविनो अविज्जन्धे निगन्थे समुपट्ठहि ॥
Dāṭhādhātuvaṁśa, Canto ii, Verse 73.

nisation during this period were probably made mostly by the Śvetāmbara school. In the year 840 of the Vīra era the Śvetāmbaras convoked two councils, one at Mathurā and the other at Valabhī presided over by Skandila and Nāgārjuna (a Jain saint) respectively[1]. These two councils determined the correct texts of jainism which were later on confirmed and put to writing by the second Valabhī council held in the year 980 of the Vīra era.

Very little is, however, known about the progress of other religions like Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism in Kaliñga during this period. The *Bhadrak Stone Inscription*[2] of the time of Mahārāja Gaṇa (about the second half of the 3rd century A. D.) reveals that in the 8th regnal year of that king one pious man named Mūlajapa installed 3 Deva images and donated 80 *Āḍhabāpas* of land which was received by *Mahākulapati* Ārya Agniśarman. The installation of 3 Deva images indicates the popularity of a religion other than Buddhism and Jainism. The word 'Deva' is used in early Indian literature as synonyms of both Śiva and Viṣṇu and hence, it is difficult to say whether the *Bhadrak Inscription* refers to the worship of Vaiṣṇavite or Śaivite gods. If Damaneśwar Śiva referred to in the *Peddadugaṁ Copper Plates*[3] is taken to have been installed by king Daman one of the adversaries of Samudragupta in Kaliñga, it may be said that Śaivism had already got a foothold in the territory by the middle of the 4th century A. D. Both Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism flourished with remarkable popularity under the rule of the Māṭharas and the early Gañgas respectively during the post-Samudragupta period and it may be said

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1. The accounts of these councils are known from the *Nandichurṇi* of Jinadāsa (578 A.D.) and *Yogaśāstravṛtti* of Hemachandra (1140 A. D.)
2. *E.I.* XXIX pp. 169 f.
3. E. I. XXXI pp. 89-93.
   J.A.H.R.S. XXI pp. 159 f.

that both these religions had their beginning in Kaliñga during the period under review.

The cult of Nāga worship had, however, earned more popularity than either Vaiṣṇavism or Śaivism. Images of Nāgas and Nāgīs in anthropomorphic forms have been discovered in the suburbs of Bhubaneśwar and some of these have been attributed to 2nd—3rd century A. D. when the Muruṇḍas were ruling over this region. Special mention may be made of the image of the Nāgarāja, flanked by the images of two queen consorts, which are together being worshipped as village deities at Sundarpaḍā about two miles South of Bhubaneśwar[1], and two other Nagā images discoverd in the same area and now preserved in the Orissa State Museum. These images have been represented as human beings with coils of serpents attached to the back and a canopy of five hoods over the heads. The Sundarpaḍā specimens are comparatively in good condition and they exhibit dress and style similar to the Nāga images of the Kuṣān period found in the neighbourhood of Mathurā. One of the images found in the village Chhargaon, five miles South of Mathurā, is dated in the year 40 (Śaka era) and is said to have been installed near a pond during the reign of Haviṣka (105 A. D.–138 A. D.). About the specimens discovered around Mathurā, Vogel[2] remarks "In most of the Nāga images from Mathurā it is quite clear that the hood is not conceived as an excrescence springing from the back of the human frame. It forms a part of a complete serpent whose coils are plainly visible both at the front and the back of the sculpture". The influence of the Mathurā school seems to have spread over different parts of India as Nāga images of this description are found not only at Sundarpaḍā near

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1. For a discussion about the images see *OHRJ.* III pp. 1 f.
2. *Indian Serpent Lore*, pp. 42-43.

Bhubaneśwar in Eastern India but also at Parijetpur[1] in Boroda district in Western India. The images at Chhargaon, Sunderpaḍā and Jetpur have almost the same iconographic characteristic and plastic technique, and taking the Chhargaon specimen as the earliest representation of the three, it may be said that its influence spread over Eastern and Western India in course of the second half of the second century A. D.

Social conditions.

Owing to paucity of reliable evidences it is difficult to get a correct picture of the social life of the period. A number of dedicatory inscriptions belonging to the Kuṣān period indicate that there was joint family system in Indian society during that time. Endowments were made for the religious merit of various members of the family.[2] The father was very likely the head of the household although a few inscriptions referred to *Kuṭumbinī*, the mistress of the house. This pattern of social structure was prevalent in different parts of India including Kaliñga during the rule of the Kuṣāns. An idea of the dress and ornament of the people is evinced from the sculptures belonging to this time. The Nāga figures are found clad in *dhoti* which is arranged in folds in the front and a scarf tied on the loins, whereas the Nagīs have loose skirt and bodice. People of both the sexes seem to be fond of ornaments and the women generally wore girdle round the waiste, anklets on the feet, necklaces round the neck and bracelets round the wrists. Ear-rings were commonly used both by men and women. Varieties of ear ornaments mostly of terracotta belonging to this period have been found at

1. *I.H.C.* Proceedings of the 19th session, Agra, 1956, p. 163.
2. The Joint family consisted of father, mother, grandfather (*Pitāmaha*), grandmother (Pida-mahika-Pitāmaha) son and daughter-in-law (*E.I.* II, p. 207).

Śiśupālgarh.[1] It is believed that the terracotta earrings had a thin metal plating and they were made from piece-moulds of very fine edges the seam being not easily distinguishable. The ear ornaments included the motifs of concentric circles, raised bands, conventionalised floral patterns and spiral incisions. These types of ear ornaments are found at Amarāvatī, Sāranāth and Mathurā and some of the ear studs, used probably by male folk, have similarity with those found at Harappa[2]. Women were having beautiful hair-style and the *Saundarānanda* of Aśvaghoṣa indicates that they were using ointment, were painting the face with small sticks and were rubbing sandal paste on different parts of the body. In this work we find the lady Sundari handing over a mirror to her lover saying 'Just hold this in front of me while I paint myself'.[3] The favourite pastimes were playing on Viṇā, flute and drum, and strolling in gardens and groves.

The Śiśupālgarh excavation has yielded various iron objects which were used both as domestic implements and war weapons during this period. Mention may be made of nails, spikes, staples, sickles, ferrules, knife blades, borers, lances, spearheads, tanged daggers, barbed and faceted arrow-heads and caltrops. It may be mentioned here that caltrops as weapons of war have been discovered in India for the first time at Śiśupālgarh. They are found in Roman military sites attributed to early Christian centuries and their occurrence here suggests cultural and military contact of Kaliñga with the Roman world.

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1. *A.I.* no. 5 pp. 89-90.
2. M.S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa* (Delhi 1940), Vol. I. p. 446 and Vol. II pl. CXXXIX. 26-28.
3. *Saundarānanda*, Canto iv, Verse 13.

Trade & Commerce.

The period under review is remarkable for the commercial activities both in-land and over-seas. The trade routes which passed through Kaliñga linked her important ports and towns with those of Southern and Western India, as well as, famous places of Northern India. Ancient trade routes have been traced on the basis of the finds of coins and other antiquarian remains. During the rule of Aśoka Toṣālī and Samāpā, the two seats of Maurya administration in Kaliñga were linked with good roads and those two townships were probably connected with other provincial headquarters, as well as, the imperial capital Pāṭaliputra. Under Khāravela Kaliñganagari (the present site of Śiśupālgarh) seems to have been linked with good roads with Assaka on the Kṛṣṇā in the South, Mathurā, Pāṭaliputra and Rājgṛha in the North, and Nāsīk region in the West. These roads continued as important arteries of commerce in succeeding centuries. The finds of the Kuṣān coins at Jaugaḍa in Gañjām district, Māṇik Pāṭnā in Purī district and Dharmaśālā (Kayemā hill) in Cuttack district, indicate that the trade route passed through these places. In between Kaliñganagari and the Kayemā hill it crossed the Mahānadī and its branches somewhere near the present city of Cuttack. It crossed the Brāhmaṇī at Dharmaśālā and the Vaitaraṇī near Jājapur. After reaching Bhadrak on the Sālandī it probably turned Westwards, to Sitābiñji in Keoñjhar district. From Sitābiñjī it passed towards Khichiñg and going in North-easternly direction upto Bāmanghāṭi (modern Rairañgpur) and Bahaldā it again took a Northern course towards Gayā and Pāṭaliputra. The *Allahabad Inscription* further indicates that Kaliñga was linked with the Jumna valley by a road which passed through South Kosala Mahākāntāra and Korāla. This road was probably a very

old one as indicated by the finds of pre-Maurya coins in Sonepur region. Many other over-land routes seem to have developed in later times, but during the period under discussion the high roads mentioned above were in existence and served the growing needs of communication and commerce.[1]

The famous sea-ports through which Kaliñga was carrying on her over-seas trade were Tāmralipti, Palura and Pīthuṇḍa. These ports were linked with the main high-roads mentioned above. The port of Tāmralipti situated at the apex of the Indian Ocean mantained brisk inter-course both cultural and commercial, with Burma, Ceylon and the islands of the Far East. During the Maurya period it served as the port of embarkation for traders and others from Northern India, as well as, Kaliñga. It has been pointed out above that Saṅghamittā, the daughter of Aśoka, sailed from this port with eight families of Kaliñga as her retinue in her mission to Ceylon. The *Dāṭhāvaṁśa* further indicates that Hemamālā, the daughter of king Guhaśiva, of Kaliñga accompanied by her husband Danta-kumāra went to Ceylon with the Tooth relic of Buddha through the port of Tāmralipti. This port finds prominent mention in ancient Indian, Ceylonese, Chinese and Graeco-Roman accounts and the antiquities recovered from Tāmluk, the site of ancient Tāmralipti indicate its importance as an international port in ancient times. A gold coin bearing Graeco-Roman motif together with pottery fragments and terracotta figurines of Roman origin have been discovered from Tāmluk.[2] An important find of gold coins of the Roman emperors Constantine, Gordian, etc., in beautiful

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1. For ancient roads of Kaliñga, See *I.H.C. Proceedings* of the 18th session, Calcutta, 1955, pp. 44-51.
2. *I.H.C. Proceedings* of the 19th session, Agra, 1956 pp. 89-93

preservation were found from Bāmanghāṭi[1] in Mayūrbhañj district which was linked with Tāmralipti by road. At Tildā situated between Tāmluk and Bāmanghāṭi was discovered a terracotta Greek tablet containing the thanks-giving of an unknown greek sailor to the East-wind. The poet Dandin in his *Daśakumāracharita* has referred to the coming of the Greeks to the port of Tāmralipti. Thus it appears that there was intimate trade relation between the port of Tāmralipti and the Graeco-Roman world during the early Christian centuries when Kaliñga playcd an important role in the sphere of overseas trade. Polura which is mentioned as Palaura by Ptolemy has already been identified with Dantapura or Daṇḍagula on the basis of geography and philology.[2] It was an important emporium in Kaliñga situated probably near the mouth of the river Ṛṣikulyā very

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1. See Sewell's list of Roman coins in the *J.R.A.S.* of *Great Britain and Ireland*, 1904. pp. 619 f. Mr. Beglar further reports about the gold coins of Bāmanghāṭi as follows :—
"Some years ago a great find of gold coins containing among others, several of the Roman emperors, Constantine, Gordian etc, in most beautiful preservation, was found near Bamanghati. Mrs. Hayes, the Deputy Commissioner's wife at Singbhum, possesses several very fine ones indeed, made into a bracelet, but in such manner as to leave the coins absolutely uninjured. I tried in vain to procure some, but failed, except the choice ones (choice as to excellence of preservation) picked out and secured by the Deputy Commissioner, the rest got dispersed, and it is now hopeless to try and find out where they are, if they indeed exist at all and have not been melted. The finding of these coins at Bamanghati shows that it lay on some great line of road from the seaport Tamluk to the interior, for it is more probable that they came in via Tamluk than overland from the Roman empire." (Cunningham, Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1874-75 and 1875-76, Vol. XIII, pp. 72-73.)

2. See Ch. II.

close to the modern port of Gañjām.[1] Ptolemy selected this site as one of the bases for the preparation of his map and according to Gerini[2] the epheterion or point of departure for ships bound for Khryse (Suvarṇabhūmi) was located near about it—very likely at Gopālpur just a little below the mouth of the Gañjām.

The port of Pīthuṇḍa (Piṭundra of Ptolemy) has also been already located near Chicacole and Kaliñgapātnaṁ probably at the mouth of the river Nāgāvalī (Lāñguliā).[3] Both *Periplus* and the *Geographike* of Ptolemy suggest that the ships in the Eastern coast were to visit the naval stations of Calchi, Camara, Poduchu, Sapatma, Kontakossyla, Pitundra, Palaura, Gange and Tamalites from the South in order of enumeration[4]. Out of these ports, Pituṇḍra (Pīthuṇḍa) Palaura (Palura) Gange (unidentified) and Tamalites (Tāmralipti) were the ports through which Kaliñga had cultural and commercial inter-course with the outside world during the early christian centuries.

Among important industries that developed in Kaliñga by that time, mention may be made of pearl fisheries referred by *Periplus* to have been operated in the lower Ganges,[5] diamond mining mentioned by Ptolemy[6] to

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1. See *Buddhism in Orissa* p. 45.
2. *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography* p. 743.
3. See Ch. II.
4. *A comprehensive History of India* II p. 438.
   Calchi is identified with modern Kolkei or Korkei and Camara is identified with Kāverīpattanaṁ, Poducchu is very likely Arikameḍu near Pondichery and Kantakossylai s the same as Ghaṇṭaśilā.
5. *Periplus*, p. 63.
6. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1. 17; 65, 71, 76, 80.

have been worked out near the town of Kasa, at the mouth of the river Adamas (the modern Ib river which meets the Mahānadī at Hirākud) in the territory of the Sabarai (identified with Sambalpur), and cotton weaving appreciated as early as the days of Kauṭlya.[1] These and many other industries seem to have flourished owing to brisk trade with other countries particularly with Rome. The *Periplus* has given a long list of commodities which were in great demand by the Greeks and the Romans. The Yavanas were mainly carrying on trade in pepper, so much so that it was called '*Yavana priya*' in Indian literature. Besides this, spices like cinnamon, malabathrum (cinnamon leaf) were in great demand. Medicinal herbs and spikenards formed important articles of export. The Romans were fond of indigo and lycium for colouring, as well as, for medicine, while some varieties of gum and resin were required by them for making varnish and medicines. Many of these articles were produced in South India and Kaliñga seems to have supplied these in considerable quantities. Among articles of import, mention may be made of wines both Italian and Laodicaean, storax, aromatic, medicine, glass vessels, gold and silver articles and female slaves.

Trade with outside world made Kaliñga economically prosperous and her social life became active and vigorous. Thus during the period under review Kaliñga witnessed a high standard of cultural advancement inspite of political disunity and chaos.

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1. *Arthaśāstra* II (p. 81)
The Periplus (Schoff, pp. 51, 62) refers to large stores of cotton goods, varieties of muslins and mallow coloured cottons in the markets of Tagara and Paiṭhān where they were carried by boats, carts or pack bullocks from Maisolos.

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CHAPTER VIII.

MĀṬHARA RULE IN KALIÑGA

During the early Christian centuries two important families named Māṭhara and Vāśiṣṭha were flourishing in the Kaliñga region. They were enjoying high political and social status and had matrimonial relations with powerful ruling families and dignitaries of Kosala and South India. The *Guñji Rock Inscription*[1] (cir. 1st century A. D.) refers to a high official of Soutn Kosala, *Amātya-Daṇḍanāyaka-Balādhikṛta* Proṣṭhadatta, who was the son of a lady of the Vāśiṣṭha family. A *Kārle Cave Inscription*[2] ascribed to cir. 137 A. D, reveals that the mother of the Sātavāhana king Pulamāvi belonged to the Vāśiṣṭha family and was known as Vāśiṣṭhī, while the same inscription also declares that the mother of Mahāraṭhi Somadeva, a feudatory of the king Pulamāvī, belonged to the same family and was called Vāśiṣṭhī. Another inscription at Kānheri[3] which records the gift of a cave in the seventh regnal year of Swāmi Śakasena (cir, middle of the 2nd century A. D.), states that the mother of the king belonged to the Māṭhara family and was known as Māṭharī. The *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription*[4] inscribed in the 6th year of

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1. *E. I.* XXVII pp. 48 f.
2. *E. I.* VII pp. 61 f. Luders, *List* No. 100.
3. Luders, *List* No. 1001. For identification and date of Śakaṣena, see *Proceedings Indian History Congress*, 20th session, 1957, pp. 65 f.
4. *E. I.* XX. pp. 16, 19 f.

Vīra Purisadata records that the rulers of Ikṣvāku dynasty were marrying the daughters of both Vāśiṣṭha and Māthara families. The mother of Śrī Sāntamūla, the founder of the Ikṣvāku dynasty in the Deccan belonged to the Vāśiṣṭha family, whereas, the wife of the same king hailed from the Māṭhara family and Vīra Purisadata, the son of Śrī Sāntamūla took pride in declaring his father as Vāṣiṣṭhīputra and himself as Māṭharīputra. It may also be pointed out that sometime the Māṭhara and Vāśiṣṭha families had matrimonial relations between themselves and the *Rāgolu Plates*[1] of the Māṭhara king Śaktivarman reveals that his mother belonged to the Vāśiṣṭha family. Thus, the two families had considerable influence and power in the Deccan during the early Christian centuries. By the middle of the 4th century A. D. the Māṭharas succeeded in attaining the status of a ruling power in Kaliṅga and ruled over that territory for about a century and a half after which the Vāśiṣṭhas are known to have supplanted them sometime early in the 6th century A. D.

The history of the rule of the Māṭharas and the Vāśiṣṭhas in Kaliṅga has not been systematically studied although a large number of copperplate records issued by the kings of these dynasties have come to light. The chronological position of these families has given rise to much confusion and while D. C. Sircar[2] declares that there were three separate dynasties namely, the Pitṛbhaktas, Māṭharas and the Vāśiṣṭhas, S. N. Rajguru[3] is of opinion that they are of one dynasty only i. e. the Māṭharas. It is, however, true that

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1. *E. I.* XII p. 1-3.
2. *A New history of the Indian people* Vol. IV. *The Gupta-Vākāṭaka Age.* pp. 79-80.
3. *Inscriptions of Orissa.* Vol. I Part ii pp. 68-69

many of these kings like Viśākhāvarman, Umāvarman, Chaṇḍavarman and Nanda Prabhañjanavarman, have not disclosed the name of the dynasty to which they belonged, but kings like Ananta Śaktivarman and Śaktivarman declare themselves as the ornaments of the '*Māṭhara-kula*' while Mahārāja Anantavarman calls himself as the moon of the Vāśiṣṭha family (*Vāśiṣṭha kula*). This clearly indicates that the Māṭharas and the Vāśiṣṭhas were two distinct families of Kaliñga. S. N. Rajguru is inclined to identify these two families as one on the basis of the *Rāgolu Plates* of Śaktivarman who calls himself as *Vāśiṣṭhīputra* and also as the ornament of the *Māṭhara kula*. This indicates that the mother of the king belonged to the Vāśiṣṭha family and that there was matrimonial relations between the Vāśiṣṭhas and the Māṭharas and as such, there is no reason to identify these two families as one on the basis of these plates. The word 'Pitṛbhakta' cannot be a dynastic name and it may be pointed out that various dynasties of the Deccan who ruled almost contemporaneous with the Māṭharas called themselves either as *Bappabhaṭṭāraka Pādabhakta* or as *Bappapādabhakta* which is the same as *Pitṛpādabhakta*. Almost each of the Śālaṅkāyana kings bears this epithet and B. V. Krishnarao[1] is of opinion that they borrowed the epithet from their southern neighbours, the Pallavas. The legend on the seals of the *Bobbili*[2] *and Komarti*[3] *Plates* of Mahārāja Chaṇḍavarman, which may be read as '*Pitṛbhakta*' led some scholars to believe it to be a dynastic name. But this opinion cannot be tenable in view of the fact that Ananta Śaktivarman who like Chaṇḍavarman calls himself as *Bappabhaṭṭāraka Pāda bhakta* belonged to *Māṭharakula*. Thus, there were two distinct royal families

1. *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, (1942) p. 350.
2. *E. I.* XXVII pp. 33-36.
3. *E. I.* Vol. IV pp. 142-45.

named Māṭhara and Vāśiṣṭha in ancient Kaliñga and the epithet '*Pitṛbhakta*' borne by some of these kings[1] had no dynastic significance.

The chronology of these early group of kings in Kaliñga presents some difficulties. According to D.C. Sircar[2] Chaṇḍavarman of the so-called Pitṛbhakta family was the earliest among these kings, while according to B. V. Krishna rao[3] Śaktivarman who issued his *Rāgolu Grant* from Piṣṭapura was the earliest. These two views do not appear to be correct as both Śaktivarman and Chaṇḍavarman have been represented in their respective charters as kings of Kaliñga with their powers fully consolidated, whereas there are kings like Viśākhāvarman and Umāvarman who are yet to acquire authority over the territory of Kaliñga. The important fact in this connection is that Umāvarman who is not represented as a king of Kaliñga in the earlier charters issued in his 6th and 9th regnal years, assumes, the title of '*Kaliñgādhipati*' (Lord of Kaliñga) in the *Vṛhatproṣṭha Grant*[4] issued in his 30th regnal year. This clearly indicates that among these early kings Umāvarman was the first to acquire suzerainty over Kaliñga, and other kings who declared themselves as lords of Kaliñga must necessarily be considered posterior to him. In this consideration, neither Śaktivarman nor Chaṇḍavarman may be represented as the earliest king among this group. It may further be pointed out that the *Vṛhatproṣṭha Grant* of Umāvarman has

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1. Kings like Nanda Prabhañjanavarman and Anantavarman of the Vāśiṣṭha family bear the epithet *Mātā pitṛpādānuahyāta*—devoted to the feet of mother and father.
2. *A New History of the Indian people, Gupta Vākāṭaka Age.* p, 77.
3. *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa* p. 385.
4. *E. I.* XII pp. 4-6.

been composed by Mātṛvara, the son of *Deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta*[1] Haridatta, while the *Bobbili Grant* of Chaṇḍavarman is composed by Rudradatta, the son of *Deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* Mātṛvara. Thus, Umāvarman undoubtedly precedes Chaṇḍavarman and as the *Andhavaraṁ Grant*[2] of Ananta Śakti varman is composed by Mātṛvara, this king also ruled without doubt, before Chaṇḍavarman whose *Bobbili Grant* was composed by Mātṛvara's son Rudradatta. The same Mātṛvara who has composed the *Vṛhatproṣṭha Grant* of Umāvarman appears as the composer of the *Andhavaram Grant* issued in the 14th regnal year of Ananta Śaktivarman where he has been designated as *Deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta Daṇḍanāyaka*. The continuation of Mātṛvara as scribe both under Umā varman and Ananta Śaktivarman has naturally led some scholars to believe that Ananta Śaktivarman was a direct successor of Umāvarman. But this does not hold ground because king Ananta Śaktivarman in his *Andhavaraṁ Grant* clearly indicates that he was the son of one Śaktibhaṭṭāraka who can be no other than Śaktivarman, the issuer of the *Rāgolu Grant*. This grant of Śaktivarman has been composed by *Amātya* Arjundatta and probably the same Arjunadatta composed the *Śākunaka Grant*[3] in the 28th regnal year of king Ananta Śaktivarman when he was holding the post of *Talavara*. The disappearance of Mātṛvara as scribe in the *Rāgolu Grant* of Śaktivarman and his reappearance as the scribe and a general in the *Andhavaraṁ Grant* of Ananta Śaktivarman need not create confusion. Both

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1. Sri S. N. Rajguru thinks that in the *Vṛhatproṣṭha Grant* the designation Deśākṣapaṭalādhikṛta is for Mātṛvara and not for his father Haridatta—*Inscriptions of Orissa* Vol. I Part ii p. 66.
2. *E. I.* XXVIII pp. 175-79.
3. *E. I.* XXVIII pp. 22-35.

Mātṛvara and Arjunadatta very likely belonged to the same family and the plates issued during this period were composed either by the one or the other. Mātṛvara being employed as a general of the army was not always available at the headquarters and hence in his absence Arjunadatta who was sometimes a minister and sometimes a high executive officer composed a few charters like the *Rāgolu* and the *Śākunaka Grants*.

After Ananta Śaktivarman may be placed Chaṇḍavarman the issuer of the *Bobbili* and the *Komarti Grants*. His *Bobbili Grant* was composed by Rudradatta who is known to have served under Umāvarman and Ananta Śaktivarman. In consideration of the fact that the father served under Ananta Śaktivarman and the son under Chaṇḍavarman, it may be said that Chaṇḍavarman was the successor of Ananta Śaktivarman.

The *Ningoṇḍi Grant*[1] of king Prabhañjanavarman presents very important accounts regarding the genealogy of the Māṭhara family of Kaliñga. According to this grant Mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman was the son of Śaktivarman and the grandson of Śañkaravarman. D. C. Sircar[2] is inclined to identify Śaktivarman of the *Ningoṇḍi Grant* with Śaktivarman of the *Rāgolu Grant* and this identification appears quite plausible because in both the grants Śaktivarman has been represented as a very powerful king ruling over an extensive territory. The *Ningoṇḍi Grant* reveals that his territory extended from the Mahānadī to the river Kṛṣṇā and according to the *Rāgolu Grant* his capital was at Piṣṭapura which was more centrally located than Siṁhapura in consideration of his far-flung empire. Śaktivarman

1. *E. I.* XXX pp. 112-18.
2. *Ibid.*

of the *Rāgolu* and the *Ningoṇḍi Grant* and Śaktibhaṭṭāraka of the *Andhavaram Grant* are quite reasonably the same king. In this consideration both Ananta Saktivarman and Prabhañjana varman of the *Rāgolu* and the *Ningoṇḍi Grants* respectively are taken to be the two sons of Śaktivarman. It has already been pointed out that king Chaṇḍavarman of the *Bobbili* and the *Komarti Grants* ruled after king Ananta Śaktivarman. The *Ningoṇḍi Grant* of Prabhañjanavarman has close resemblance with the *Bobbili* and the *Komarti Grants* of Chaṇḍavarman in style, language and palaeography and therefore, there is cogent reason to place the rule of Prabhañjanavarman after that of Chaṇḍavarman.

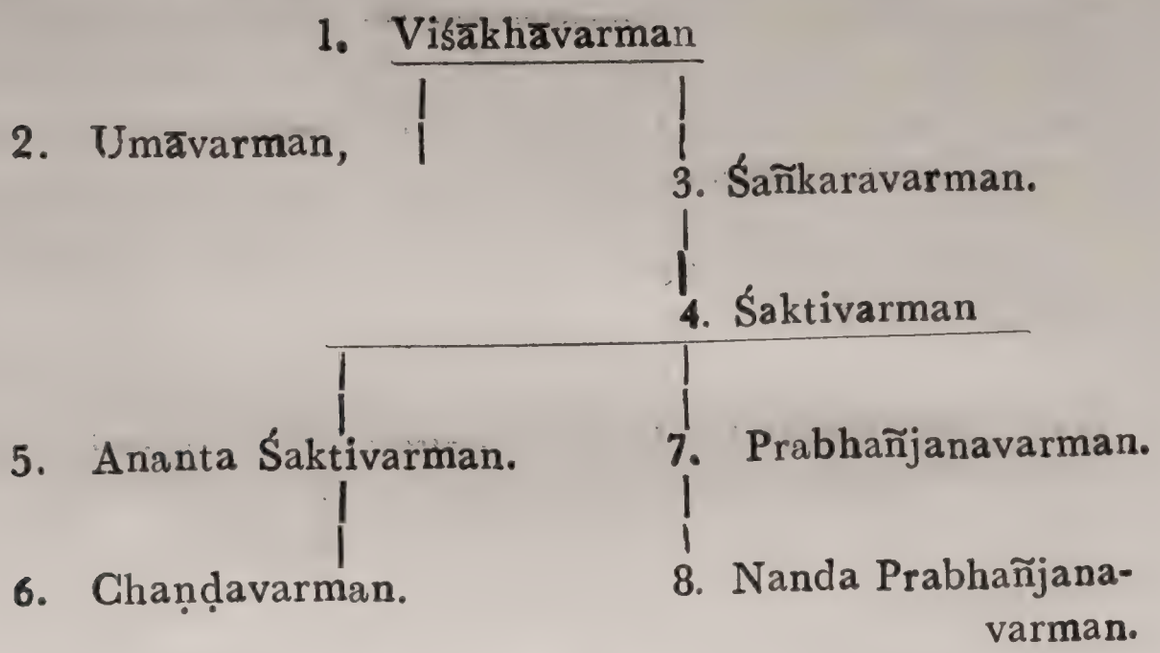
Nothing much, however, is known about Śaṅkaravarman, the father of Śaktivarman and the grand-father of Ananta-Śaktivarman, and the *Nigoṇḍi Grant* does not help us to properly place him in the chronological sequence of the Māṭhara kings. He may, however, be tentatively taken after king Viśākhāvarman and Umāvarman with whom he was, to all likelihood, very closely related.

Mahārāja Nanda Prabhañjanavarman the issuer of the *Barañga*[1] and *Ckicacole*[2] *Grants* is the last of the Māṭhara line of kings so far known to us. Like Mahārāja Prabhañjana varman, he assumes the title of 'the Lord of Sakala Kaliñga' but he appears to have lost Simhapura, the ancestral capital and the *Barañga Grant* issued in his 15th regnal year reveals that his headquarters was at Vardhamāna which was the same as the headquarters of Umāvarman in his 9th regnal year before he was the lord of Kaliñga. Evidently, the territory over which Nanda Prabhañjanavarman ruled was not as

1. *O. H. R. J.* Vol. VI pp. 109f.
2. *I. A.* XIII pp. 48-50.

extensive as that of Prabhañjanavarman and so Nanda Prabhañjanavarman may be assigned to the declining period of the Māṭhara power in Kaliñga. He may be said to have succeeded Mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman with whom he was very closely related.

In the light of the above discussion the geneology of the Māṭhara kings of Kaliñga may be presented as follows.



Viśākhāvarman :—(cir. 350-360 A. D.).

The earliest known king of the Māṭhara family is Śrī Mahārāja Viśākhāvarman who ruled over a small principality from his headquarters at Śrīpura where from he issued his *Korosaṅḍa Copper plate Grant*.[1] B. V. Krishnarao[2] is of opinion that king Viśākhāvarman is the last known king of the Māṭharas as he does not assume the title of 'Kaliñgādhipati' and he is inclined to believe that he (Viśākhāvarman) changed his headquarters from Vijaya Simhapura to Śripura.

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1. *J. B O R. S.* XIV, p. 282 also *E. I.* XXI pp. 23-25.
2. *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa* pp. 394-95.

G. Ramadas[3] identifies Śrīpura with the modern village Śiripuraṁ in the Viśākhāpaṭnaṁ district (now Śrīkākulaṁ dt.). If the opinions of Krishnarao and G. Ramadas be taken into consideration, the headquarters of Viśākhāvarman would be placed in the heart of Kaliṅga and in that case the omission of the title 'Kaliṅgādhipatiḥ' by this king cannot be explained. S. N. Rajguru[2] seems to be right in his indentification of Śrīpura of the *Korosoṇḍa Grant* with the modern village of Vaṭiāśrīpura in Paralakimedi tāluq of Gañjaṁ district. This identification is all the more plausible because 'Korasoḍaka pañchāli' of the grant is taken to be the same as Korosoṇḍa, the find spot of the plates located only 8 miles to the North-east of Paralakimeḍi town. Vaṭiāśripura is about a mile from Korosoṇḍa and so, one need not go for its identification as far as Śrīpuraṁ in Śrīkākulaṁ district about 60 miles off Korosoṇḍa.

King Viśākhāvarman issued the *Korosoṇḍa Copper plate Grānt* in his 7th regnal year on the 20th day of *Hemanta* donating the village Tapoyaka in Korasoḍaka pañchāli to five Brāhmins, named Viṣṇuśarman, Śreṣthiśarman, Aganiśarman, Nāgaśarman and Śivaśarman, all belonging to *Ātreya gotra* and hailing from a place known as Savarabheṇḍa. The village Tapoyaka cannot properly be identified, but it has already been pointed out that Korasoḍa is the same as the modern Korosoṇḍa in the Paralakimedi tāluq of Gañjāṁ district. The *Chicacole Plates*[3] of the Gañga king Indravarman III dated in the Gañga year 146 reveals that Korasoḍaka pañchāli was a part of the territory of Kaliṅga. But although that district was included in the kingdom of

1. *E. I.* XXI pp. 23-25.
2. *Proceedings of I. H. C.* 20th session (957) p. 95.
3. *I. A.* XIII pp. 122-24.

Viśākhāvarman, he did not call himself the 'Lord of Kaliñga'. It has been pointed out that king Umāvarman who appears to have come after Viśākhāvarman did not declares himself as the 'Lord of Kaliñga' in his earlier charters issued in the 6th and 9th regnal years. But Umāvarman assumed the title of Kaliñgādhipati by the 30th year of his reign although like Viśākhāvarman he started his career as an humble ruler of a a petty principality. The omission of the title 'Kaliñgādhipati' in the charter of king Viśākhāvarman and in early grants of king Umāvarman need not be taken to be accidental or inadvertant. It indicates that the kingdom of these two rulers then comprised the modern Parlakimedi tāluq which was too petty a principality to be called Kaliñga. It may be recalled here that the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* of Samudragupta mentions a number of small principalities comprising the Kaliñga region by the time Samudragupta led his campaign towards the South. Neither king Viśākhāvarman nor Umāvarman finds place in the list of the South Indian kings presented by Hariṣeṇa in the said inscriptions. This omission indicates that these two early Māṭhara kings flourished at a time posterior to the South Indian campaign of the Gupta monarch. It may further be pointed out that the modern village Kothoor which represents the ancient Koṭṭura of Śvāmidatta is hardly ten miles off Vaṭiāśrīpura which is the same as Śrīpura, the headquarters of Viśākhāvarman. It thus becomes clear that there was no place for Viśākhāvarman when Svāmidatta was ruling over that area and the former came into prominence only after the latter, following the retreat of Samudragupta from Kaliñga about 350 A. D.

It is not known for certain whether the father of Viśākhāvarman was king at all or not. It was with the intention of peace for his departed father's soul that the *Korosoṇḍa Copper plate Grant* was issued by Viśākhāvarman in favour af five Brāhmins mentioned above. The grant being

issued in the 7th regnal year and there being no other charter so far known of this king, it may be said that he rul d about a decade and was apparently succeeded by Umāvarman.

Umāvarman cir. 360-395 A. D.).

King Umāvarman is known to us from four of his copper plate grants viz., *Barañga Grant*[1] issued in his 6th regnal year, *Dhavalapeṭā Grant*[2] the date portion of which is missing *Tekkāli Grant*[3] issued in his 9th regnal year and the *Vṛhatprostha Grant* issued in the 30th year of his reign. A careful study of these copper plate grants reveals that like his predecessor Umāvarman started his career as an humble ruler of the petty principality of Śrīpura roughly comprising the modern Paralakimedi tāluq. He seems to have taken the opportunity arising from the political chaos in Kaliñga after the retreat of Samudragupta and expanded his territory and power at the cost of his neighbours till he become the lord of Kaliñga with Simhapura as the capital. But from Śrīpura to Simhapura was big stride, and Umāvarman achieved it step by step with courage and firmness. His *Barañga Grant* issued on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākhā* in his 6th regnal year, reveals that he had by that time transferred his headquarters to Sunagara. The grant registered the donation of the village Hemaṇḍaka in the Bhiliñgabhoga viṣaya (district) in favour of the Brāhmin Viṣnuśarman of *Kāśyapa gotra*. Bhiliñga has been identified with the modern village called Bhiliñga near Barañga (in Chikiti tāluq of Gañjām district), where the plates have

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1. *O. H. R, J.* VI pp. 106 f.
2. *E. I.* XXVI pp. 132-35.
3. *E. I.* XXVIII pp, 298-302.

been discovered. It has already been discussed above that the modern Chikiti represents the name Śvetaka of the ancient time and it indicates that Umāvarman by his 6th regnal year had extended his kingdom at least as far as the Śvetaka region. The *Dhavalāpeṭā Grant* was issued from the same headquarters Sunagara and it records the grant of the village Kottura in the viṣaya (district) of Mahendrabhoga in favour of the Brāhmin Khalla Śvāmin of the *Vatsa gotra*. Unfortunately the third plate of the grant containing the date portion is missing R. K. Ghosal[1] who has edited this grant supposes it to have been issued very near to the date of the *Vṛhatproṣṭha Grant* dated in the 30th regnal year of the king. He is supported by B. V. Krishnarao[2] who presumes that the grant was issued from Vijayasimhapura in the 30th regnal year of the king as in the case of the *Vṛhatproṣṭha Grant*. It is quite evident that Krishnarao has not carefully examined the *Dhavalapeṭā Grant*. The very first line of the grant reveals that it was issued from Sunagara like the *Barañga Grant* and not from Siṁhapura like the *Vṛhatproṣṭha Grant*. Only two of the three original plates of this grant are available to scholars as the third plate has been melted away by the discoverer, a village farmer of Dhavalapeṭā, who thought that the plates were made of gold. The date portion of the grant was at the end of the third plate following the usual tradition of the Māṭhara grant. Thus the date portion of the *Dhavalapeṭā Grant* is lost for ever. The discovery of the *Barañga Grant* dated in the 6th regnal year of the king made it clear that the *Dhavalapeṭā Grant* was issued nearer to this date and earlier than the *Tekkali Grant* of the 9th regnal year of the king, By the time when the *Tekkali Grant* was issued, king

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1. E. I. XXVI. p. 132.
2. *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa* p. 393.

Umāvarman had shifted his political headquarters from Sunagara to Vardhamānapura, while the *Barañga Grant* indicates that by the 6th regnal year his headquarters was located at Sunagara. And as the same Sunagara continued to be the headquarters by the time of the *Dhavalapeṭā Grant*, it is all the more reasonable to place this grant sometime in between the 6th and the 9th regnal year. Manda Narasimham[1] identifies Sunagara (which he calls Nagara) with modern Mukhaliñga near Paralakimedi in Gañjām district The identification is not improbable as Viśākhāvarman's political headquarters was at Śrīpura situated in the same region. The town Sunagara or Nagara was later on known as Kaliñganagara when the Eastern Gañgas chose it to be their headquarters after becoming the overlords of Kāliñga. It is interesting to note here that king Umāvarman who had become the overlord of the Śvetaka region by the time of his *Barañga Grant*, had extended his authority over the territories round about the Mahendra mountains by the time he issued the *Dhavalapeṭā Grānt*, The village Kottura granted by him was located in the district of Mahendrabhoga and this was the same as Koṭṭura over which Śvāmidatta was ruling at the time of invasion of Samudragupta (cir 350 A D.). This place has been identified with the modern village Kothoor 12 miles South-west of the Mahendra mountains.

By the 9th regnal year, king Umāvarman seems to have attained some more glory as by that time he had further shifted his headquarters from Sunagara to Vardhamānapura wherefrom he issued his *Tekali Grant*. This grant was issued on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of *Magha* in the 9th regnal yer of the king donating the village Havera

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1. *J. A. H. R, S*, X pp. 143.44.

as an *Agrahāra* to Brāhmin Yaśośarman of the *Kāśyapa gotra*. The grant reveals that it was written by the king in his own hand but the final engraving on the copper plates was made by one Keśavadeva who was an inhabitant of Piṣṭapura. Krishnamacharlu identifies Vardhamānapur with the village Vaḍama in the Palakoṇḍā tāluq and the donated village Havera (or Asti-Havera) with Aṭava in the Sṛñgavarapukoṭa tāluq, both in Viśākhāpāṭnaṁ district. But the identifications are not above doubt as the territory of Umāvarman could not possibly have extended as far South as the modern Viśākhāpāṭnaṁ district by his 9th regnal year. B. V Krishnarao[1] rightly thinks that Vardhamānapura was situated somewhere in the Tekkali region, where the grant was discovered.

Mahārāja Umāvarman achieved remarkable success sometime before his 30th regnal year and declaring himself the 'Lord of Kaliñga', he transferred his capital from Vardhamānapura to Siṁhapura identified with modern Siñgapuraṁ (or Siñgpuuraṁ) situated between Śrīkakulaṁ and Narāsannapetā, in Śrīkākulam district. His *Vṛhatproṣṭha Grant* was issued from the victorious Siṁhapura on the 20th day of *Mārgaśīrṣa* in the 30th year of his reign and the very first line of it declares the king as the 'Lord of Kaliñga.' The charter registers the grant) of the village Vṛhatproṣṭha in favour of the Brahmachārin Brāhmin Haridatta of *Anpamanyasa gotra* and further reveals that the granted village which originally belonged to Dantayavāgu-bhoga was taken away from that division and was made one of the components of the 36 *Agrahāras*. The charter was executed by Vasudeva and was written by Māṭṛvara, the son of *Deśākṣapatalādhikṛta*

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1. *Early dynasties of Andhradesa* p. 392,

Haridatta. B. V. Krishnarao is inclined to identify the donee Haridatta with the father of the scribe Mātṛvara, but the charter clearly distinguishes the one from the other as the donee Haridatta was a *Brahmachārin* (bachelor) belonging to the *Aupamanyasa gotra* while Mātṛvara's father was a worldly man serving under the king as the chief of the Record office.

Mahārāja Umāvarman died sometime after his 30th regnal year when he was at the height of his glory. Starting his career as an obscure ruler in the Paralakimedi region he could establish an extensive kingdom and revive the historical tradition of Kaliñga making the celebrated Simhapura his capital. He may be regarded as the real founder of the glory of the Māṭhara dynasty. The territory of Kaliñga which had attained great importance in history of India during the days of Aśoka and Khāravela had sunk into obscurity during the first three centuries of the Christian era to such an extent that even Hariṣeṇa, who was a general and minister of Samudragupta, failed to mention the name of Kaliñga in his famous *Allahabad Pillar Inscription.* The noticeable fact is that the name of Kaliñga does not find mention in any epigraphical records of India after the fall of the Meghavāhanas till the coming of the Māṭharas to power, and Umāvarman is the first ruler to call himself the Lord of Kaliñga after Kudepasīrī the son of Khāravela[1] Although Hariṣeṇa does not refer to Kaliñga, this territory finds mention in the works of Kālidāsa who has been assigned to the second half of the 4th century A. D. The revival of

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1. The remark stands so far as the epigraphical literature is concerned. The '*Diṭhā dhātu Vaṁsa*' a Ceylonese chronicle presents the account of Guhaśiva the king of Kaliñga, assigned to the last quarter of the 3rd century A. D.

Kaliñga under Umāvarman who was very likely a contemporary of the poet, seems to be the reason why Kaliñga got a prominent place in his works although she was ignored by Hariṣeṇa only a few years back. The epithet 'Lord of Mahendra' used by the poet denoting to the 'Lord of Kaliñga' is quite significant in view of the fact that Umāvarman who declared himself as the Lord of Kaliñga carved out his territory round about Mahendra and formed a district (*viṣaya*) named *Mahendrabhoga.* It is no small a credit for this Māṭhara king to unify a large portion of Kaliñga under his sceptre and to reinstate her tradition and glory. From this time onwards, Kaliñga once again entered into a long and vigorous political career with remarkable influence and power in the history of Eastern India and the Deccan.

Śañkaravarman :—(cir 395-400 A. D.).

In the genealogy of the Māṭharas Śañkaravarman, the father of the illustrious Śaktivarman comes very close to Viśākhāvarman and Umāvarman. The *Niñgoṇḍi Grant* only makes a passing reference to him representing him as 'one who increases the glory of the Māṭhara family.'[1] His rule appe rs to have been a very short one and no copper plate grant issued by him has yet come to light. It may be pointed out that Mātṛvara the writer of the *Vṛhatproṣṭha Grant* of king Umāvarman lived during the rule of four successive kings viz., Umāvarman, Śañkaravarman, Śaktivarman and Ananta Śaktivarman. We find him as the Record-keeper in the 30th regnal year of king Umāvarman and as General and Record-keeper in the 14th regnal year of king Ananta Śaktivarman. If we suppose that this Mātṛvara started his career from his 21st year of age and continued in service

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1. माठर कुलकीर्त्ति वर्द्धन कर

for a period of fortyfive years[1], even in that case Śañkaravarman cannot be taken to have a rule of more than five years. Thus Śañkaravarman appears to have ruled only for a short period.

Mahārāja Śaktivarman, the son and successor of Śañkaravarman takes pride in calling himself in the *Rāgolu Grant* as the ornament of the Māṭhara family and the son of the Vāśiṣṭhī princess, indicating there-by that his father married in the family of the Vāśiṣṭhas who were ruling over the Devarāṣṭra region after Kubera, the adversary of Samudragupta. This matrimonial relation was significant because it paved the way for the occupation of the middle Kaliñga by the Māṭharas and when Śaktivarman extended his sway over South Kaliñga, he could count upon the help and co-operation of the stalwart Vāśiṣṭhas.

Śaktivarman:—(cir. 400-20 A. D.).

Śañkaravarman was succeeded by his son Śaktivarman who like Umāvarman followed a vigorous policy of aggrandisement and brought about the unification of Northern and Southern Kaliñga. The Vāśiṣṭhas of Middle Kaliñga appear to have helped him in his conquest of the Southern region, which was also facilitated by the decline of the Śālaṅkāyana power in Veṅgī early in the 5th century A. D. After conquest of Southern Kaliñga Śaktivarman transferred his capital from Siṁhapura to Piṣṭapura sometime before his 13th regnal year when he issued his *Rāgolu Grant* from the new capital. This grant issued on the full-moon day of *Vaiśakha* recorded the donation of the *Agrahāra* of Rākaluva in Kaliñga viṣaya in favour of the Brāhmin Kumāraśarman of *Savarṇasa gotra*, having *pravaras* of five ṛṣis, and of *Vājasansyī school*, as well as, his eight sons to be enjoyed by them in perpetuity.

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1. 5 years of Umāvarman + 5 years of Śañkaravarman + 20 years of Śaktivarman + 15 years of Ananta Śaktivarman = 45 years.

Rākaluva has been identified with the modern village Rāgolu, the find spot of the grant, situated near Śrīkākulam.

The cause of the decline and fall of the Śālaṅkāyanas may be attributed to the rising power of the Māṭharas in Kaliṅga. B. V. Krishnarao, however, is of opinion that the Śālaṅkāyanas "perished in the struggle with the Vishṇukuṇḍins". He states "there is a gap of about four decades from the death of Vijaya Vishṇugopavarman II till the rise of Simhavarman III of the *Lok Vibhāga* synchronism, between 395 and 435 A. D. The interval was probably the period of trial for the Pallavas in the south and the Śālaṅkāyanas in Āndhradeśa. It was the period during which the Vishṇukuṇḍins rose to power and supplanted the Śālaṅkāyana sovereignty in Āndhradeśa, while the powerful Pallavas in the distant south recovered from the onslaught of the Kādambas and their allies the weak Śālaṅkāyanas perished in the struggle with the Vishṇukuṇḍins".[1] But the *Niṅgoṇḍi Grant* of king Prabhañjanavarman removes much doubt about the so far confusing history of the South during this period. It is known from this grant that Śrī Śaktivarman, the son of Śrī Śaṅkaravarman of Māṭharakula, extended his territory from the Mahānadī to the river Kṛṣṇā and ruled the subjects of this far-flung empire following the ancient laws. Evidently therefore, Śaktivarman after his conquest of the South Kaliṅga dealt a crushing blow to the declining Śālaṅkāyana power and marched as far as the borders of the territories of the Pallavas when they were in a state of decline. The Pallava king Simhavarman II or his predecessor had to encounter the invasion of Śaktivarman, who conquered the

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1. B. V. Krishnarao, *Op. cit*, pp. 379-380.

territories as far south as the river Kṛṣṇā after subduing the Śālaṅkāyanas.

Śaktivarman is the gaeatest among the Māṭhara kings and during his rule Kaliṅga became the leading power in the South. In fact, India by that time had three great powers, the Guptas who ruled over Northern India and occupied Malwā-Saurāṣṭra region after defeating the Śakas; the Vākāṭakas who ruled over Central India and occupied the Kuntala region in the South, and the Māṭharas who extended their sway from the Mahānadī in the North to the Kṛṣṇā in the South. Thus Śaktivarman successfully built an extensive empire on the foundation laid down by Umāvarman and he seems to have maintained its integrity as long as he ruled.

Ananta Śaktivarman :

(cir. 420—450 A. D.)

Mahārāja Śaktivarman was succeeded by his son Ananta Śaktivarman who is known to us from his *Andhavaram* and *Śākunaka Copper plate Grants*. C. R. Krishnamacharlu[1] thinks that Ananta Śaktivarman was a son of Śaktivarman with the possibility of Anantavarman intervening between them, and B. V. Krishnarao[2], faithfully following this conjectural suggestion, places one Anantavarman as successor of Śaktivarman and predecessor of Ananta Śaktivarman. But the rule of this Anantavarman has not yet been substantiated by any records and it remains even today a guess work. The

1. *A. R. S. I. E.* 1935. pp. 52-53.
2. *Op. cit*, p. 387.

opinion of S. N. Rajaguru[1] that Śaktivarman was a successor of Ananta Śaktivarman is untenable as Ananta Śaktivarman in his *Andhavaraṁ Grant* meditates at the feet of Śakti Bhaṭṭāraka who was without doubt his father and predecessor. The *Andhavaraṁ Grant* was issued from the military camp at Vijayapura[2] on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of *Śrāvaṇa* on the 14th regnal year of Ananta Śaktivarman. None of the Māṭhara grants, so far available to us, is known to have been issued from a military camp and the *Andhavaraṁ Grant*, therefore, indicates that at the time of its issue the king was engaged in some battle. R. Subrahmanyam, the editor of the grant, is inclined to believe that Ananta Śaktivarman fought against the Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgī and was defeated by them. He thus observes[3] "presumably he (Ānanta Śaktivarman) was compelled in his 14th year to leave Piṣṭapura, his anscestral capital by the rising power of the Śālaṅkāyana rulers of Veṅgī to find a capital in the northern regions of Kaliṅga i. e. Vijayasiṁhapura orSiṁhapura, from where members of his dynasty ruled subsequently till they were overthrown by the Vāśiṣṭhas" The statement of the learned editor indicates that he has been led by the theory that Śaktivarman who issued the *Rāgolu plates* from Piṣṭapura was the first ruler of the Māṭhara family which, as has been pointed out above, is historically untenable. Siṁhapura was the capital of the Māṭharas since the time of Mahārāja Umāvarman, and when Māhārāja Śaktivarman the descendent of Umāvarman occupied South Kaliṅga, he made Piṣṭapura his capital. But Ananta Śaktivarman the son and successor of Śaktivarman is known to have retransferred the headquarters from Piṣṭapura

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1. *Inscription of Orissd*, Vol. 1 pt. ii pp. 66-68.
2. महाहस्त्यश्व स्कन्धावारात् विजयपुरात्
3. Vide *E. I.* XXVIII pp. 175f.

to Simhapura. The supposition that Ananta Śaktivarman was driven away from Piṣṭapura by the rising power of the Śālaṅkāyanas, is not quite correct because by the time of Ananta Śaktivarman the Śālaṅkāyana power had already been crushed by Śaktivarman, who conquered the territories upto the river Kṛṣṇā.

The history of Southern India underwent a remarkable change in the early fifth century A. D. and the period witnessed a scramble for power among several ruling families. The Māṭharas who had extended their sway upto the neighbourhood of the Pallava territories had to face powerful rivals and the political situation began to turn against them with the rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin powers. Mādhava varman I who was probably the founder of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty flourished in the second quarter of the 5th century A. D. and being a great warrior he was bidding for a career of war and aggrandisement. An account of the achievement of this king is obtained from the *Ipuru plates* (2nd set) of Madhava varman II, where he is represented "as the glorious king who had washed away the stains of the world by bathing at the end of eleven horse-sacrifices, who had performed thousands of *Agniṣṭoma* sacrifices and whose pair of lotus feet was studded with the jewels of the diadems of many bowing vassals[1]". The account appears to have been highly exaggerated but the fact that he was a powerful ruler and fought successful battles with his neighbours may well be accepted. It was very likely the rise of this monarch to power, which caused the retreat of the Māṭharas from South India during the time of Ananta-Śaktivarman.

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1. *E. I.* VIII pp. 143 f See also—*Early dynasties of Andhradesa*, pp. 404 f.

The Viṣṇukuṇḍīns fought with the Pallavas in the South and the Māṭharas in the North, and the Pallava king Siṁhavarman II and the Māṭhara king Ananta Śaktivarman were the adversaries of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I in the southern and northern quarters respectively. Ananta Śaktivarman appears to have been defeated in the contest, as a result of which the southern regions of the Māṭhara kingdom including South Kaliṅga passed to the hands of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins The *Andhavaraṁ Grant* indicates that the loss of these territories took place sometime before the 14th regnal year of Ananta Śaktivarman. Aṇḍoreppu the donated village has been identified with the modern Andhavaraṁ the find spot of the grant, situated on the left bank of the river Vaṁśadhārā in the Narāsannapeṭā tāluq of Śrīkākulaṁ district.

The *Śākunaka Grant* was issued by Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of *Phālguna* in the 28th year of his reign. The grant was issued from his capital Siṁhapura and it registered the gift of the village Śākunaka in the Varāhavarttinī viṣaya in favour of two Brāhmin brothers—Nāgaśarman and Durggaśarman who belonged to *Kātyāyana gotra* of *Taittirīya school*. It may be pointed out that the *Śākunaka Grant*, unlike other Māṭhara grants, was executed by two high military officers, the Commander-in-chief *(Mahāvalādhikṛta)* Śivabhojaka and the General *(Daṇḍanetṛ)* Vasudatta both of whom belonged to the cadre of Kumārāmātya. The employment of military personnel for the work of executing the religious deeds indicates that during the rule of Mahārāja Ananta Śaktivarman the military had an unusual predominance in the sphere of civil administration.

The grant was composed not by Mātṛvara, the writer of *Andhavaraṁ Charter*, but by a new scribe named Arjunadatta who appeared as the chief Record keeper in place of

Mātṛvara, who was a General (*Daṇḍanāyaka*) besides being the Record keeper by the 14th regnal year of the king.

Anants Śaktivarman could not maintain the integrity of the empire he inherited from his father as political circumstances in the Deccan went against him. He, however, succeeded in consolidating his position in North Kaliñga region, while Middle Kaliñga probably continued under his sway. The Māṭharas here-after failed to recover South Kaliñga but after their decline the Vāśiṣṭhas could occupy for sometime Piṣṭapura, the headquarters of South-Kaliñga.

Chaṇḍavarman : (Cir. 450-460 A. D.)

The next king in the line of the Māṭharas was Mahārāja Śrī Chaṇḍavarman who is known to us from his *Bobbili* and *Komarti Copper plate Charters*. He was probably a son of Ananta Śaktivarman and his place in the genealogy of the Māṭhara family may be assigned with great amount of certainty after Ananta Śaktivarman and before Prabhañjana-varman, the two sons of illustrious Śaktivarman. None of his charters issued after the 6th regnal year has yet been traced and he appears to have died a premature death ruling about a decade.

The *Bobbili Grant* dated in the 5th day of the 2nd fortnight of *Grīṣma* (summer season) in the 4th regnal year of the king, was issued from the victorious capital Simhapura. It registered the donation of the village Tirithāna vāṭaka as an *Agrahāra* to some *Brahmachārin Brāhmins* of different *gotras*. The villag Tirithāna vāṭaka has probably gone out of existence and can not be traced at present.

The *Komarti Grant* was issued from the same Simhapura in the 6th regnal year of the king on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra*. It registered the grant of the village Kohetura as an *agrahāra* to the *Brahmachārin*

Devaśarman of the *Bhāradvāja gotra* and a student of *Vājasaneya school.* Kohetura like Tirithāna is probably out of existence at present.

Krishnamacharlu[1] argues that the *Bobbili Grant* being written in a form of angular script and being dated in an archaic mode according to seasons, is much earlier than the *Komarti Grant* which is less angular in script and is dated according to the lunar month and *tithi.* So in the opinion of this scholar, Chaṇḍavarman of the *Bobbili Grant* having the epithets '*Parama Bhāgavataḥ*' and *Pitṛpādānudhyātaḥ*' is different from Chandavarman of the *Komarti Grant* who calls himself '*Parama Daivataḥ*' and '*Bappa bhaṭṭāraka* pāda *bhaktaḥ*'.

But the arguments of Krishnamacharlu are not serious enough to raise doubt as to the identity of Chandavarman of the *Bobbili* and *Komarti Grants.* A general review of the charters of the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. issued by the kings in the South-eastern India, would show that the inscriptions of that region were written both in angular and roundish styles during that period and were being dated both according to seasons and the lunar months. The distinctions between the epithets *Parama Bhāgavataḥ* and *Parama Daivataḥ* and between *Pitṛpānādānudkyātaḥ* and *Bappa bhaṭṭāraka pāda bhaktaḥ* are so slight that the same king might adopt the one in preference to the other in his charters. It may, however, be said that this change of epithets may be due to the change in the spiritual and religious out-look of the king in course of time. Like Chaṇḍavarman another Māṭhara king Nanda Prabhañjana varman bore the epithet *Parama Bhāgavata* in his undated *Chicacole Plates*[2] while he declared himself as *Parama Daivata*

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1. *A. R. S. I. E.* 1935, p. 51.
2. *I. A.* XIII pp. 48 f.

in the *Barañga Grant*[1] issued in his 15th regnal year. It may be pointed out that Bhutivarman, a king of Kāmarūpa, in his *Baḍagañgā Rock Inscription*[2] dated in the Gupta year 234, calls himself both *Parama Daivata* and *Parama Bhāgavata* thus marking a synthesis of the two epithets. The *Barañga Grant* of Nanda Prabhañjanavarman, although much later than the *Komarti Grant* of Chaṇḍavarman, has been dated in the archaic *Chaturmāsyā* system. Thus the arguments of Krishnamacharlu regarding two Chaṇḍavarman in the Māṭhara lines become untenable.

Prabhañjana varman :—(Cir. 460 A. D.—480 A. D.)

Chaṇḍavarman was succeeded by Prabhañjana varman who is known to us from the *Niñgoṇḍi Grant* issued from his capital Simhapura in the 12th day of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika* without the usual reference to the regnal year of the king. The grant registered the village *Niñgoṇḍi* which was made an *agrahāra* in favour of the Brāhmins of various *gotras and charaṇas*. Mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman while giving the account of his predecessors in the *Niñgoṇḍi Grant* completely ignored both Ananta Śaktivarman and Chaṇḍavarman and declared himself directly as the successor of Śaktivarman, the son of Śañkaravarman. The non-mention of the names of Ananta Śaktivarman and Chaṇḍa varman in the family list, appears significant and it probably indicates a rift between Ananta Śaktivarman. and Prabhañjanavarman, the two sons of Śaktivarman. The defeat of the Māṭharas during their palmy days at the hands of the new-born power of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the consequent loss of territories including South Kaliñga was probably due to such serious internal dissensions. King Prabhañjanavarman seems to have attempted to reconquer

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1. *O. H. R. J.* VI pp. 109 f.
2. *E. I.* XXVIII p. 23.

South Kaliñga and revive the past glory of the dynasty, but owing to paucity of records, it is not possible to make out an account of his achievements. He, however, declared himself as 'Sakala Kaliñgādhipati' an epithet which was never borne by any previous king of his dynasty.

Nanda Prabhañjana varman :—(Cir 480-498 A. D.)

The next king after Prabhañjanavarman was Nanda Prabhañjanavarman whose relation with Prabhañjanavarman is yet to be satisfactorily established. This king is known to us from his *Chicacole* and *Barañga Grants* the palaeography of which supports the chronological position of the king discussed above.

The *Chicacole Grant*, which is undated, was issued from the victorious camp Sarāpalli and it registered the village Dayavaṭa in favour of the Brāhmin Harischandra svāmi, the inhabitant of the *Agrahāra* of Akṣata, who belonged to *Devarāta gotra and charaṇa.* The *Barañga Grant* was issued in the 15th regnal year of the king from the victorious Vardhamāna (pura) donating the village Simhala to Brāhmins of *Barañga agrahāra* belonging to various *gotras.* Unlike the *Chicacole Grant*, the *Barañga Grant* has been dated and it also mentions the scribe named Kṛṣṇa Chandra following the older tradition of the Māṭhara grants.

None of these two grants were issued from the capital Simhapura, and one of these, *Barañga Grant*, was issued from Vardhamānapura, the place from where Umāvarman had issued his *Tekkali Grant* in his 9th regnal year before he was the Lord of Kaliñga. It appears that the status of king Nanda Prabhajanavarman in his 15th regnal year relapsed to that of king Umāvarman in his 9th regnal year. Nanda Prabhañjanavarman inspite of his obvious decline continued to bear the traditional epithet 'Sakala Kaliñgādhipati' started by his predecessor Prabhañjanavarman.

A great change took place in the political history of Kaliñga about 498 A. D. when the Eastern Gañgas appeared in Trikaliñga territory and began to extend their sway towards the coastal region. Dantapura a city in Kaliñga was declared to be the capital of the Gañgas who called themselves Lord of Trikaliñga. The Gañga era which was founded in 498 A. D. heralded the political change and it signified the coming of the Eastern G ñgas to power and probably at the same time the fall of the power of the Māṭharas.

The importance of the Māṭhara rule :—

The Māṭhara rule roughly comprised the period from 350 A. D. to 500 A. D. This was the period when the Guptas were ruling over Northern India and the Vākāṭakas over Central India. The Māṭharas came into prominence after the South Indian campaign of Samudragupta but they were never known to be a subordinate power either of the Guptas or of the Vākāṭakas. They, however, played an important role in the political history of South India during this period along with other southern powers like the Śālaṅkāyanas, Pallavas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The Māṭhara territory which comprised the modern Parlakimedi tāluq of Gañjām district at the beginning of their power about 350 A. D., could extend by 400 A. D. as far as the Mahānadī in the North and the Kṛṣṇā in the South. At the beginning of the 5th century A. D. this empire began to shrink and towards the end of that century we find the empire almost at the brink of collapse. The rise and decline of the Māṭharas of Kaliñga were closely connected with the political situations in the Deccan during the one and half centuries mentioned above and the history of South India during that period cannot properly be studied without assessing the achievements of this dynasty.

The Māṭhara rule was a great landmark in the history and culture of Kaliñga. Her history which remained in obscurity after the fall of the Chedi dynasty in the first century A. D. attained great importance with the rise of this new dynasty. It not only launched Kaliñga to a vigorous political career but also made her cultural life to undergo profound transformation. The administrative set up organised by the kings of this dynasty, was a novel experiment and although it reflected an influence of the Gupta political organisation it developed more as an indigenous system than as an imposition from outside.

The empire of the Māṭharas was divided into several districts and unlike the Gupta empire it had no provincial division. At the beginning, the district was known as *Pañchāli* and later on as *Bhoga*. In *Karṣoṇḍa Copper Plate* of Viśākhāvarman, we find the mention of Karaṣoḍa as a *pañchāli*. This nomenclature was given up after Viśākhāvarman although it appeared in the grants of the Eastern Gañgas as late as 148 Gañga Era. Since Umāvarman terms like *Bhoga* and *Viṣaya* were applied to a territorial unit and sometime both these terms were used together to denote the same. We find districts named Mahendra Bhoga[1], Dantayavāgu Bhoga[2], Bhilliñgabhoga Viṣaya[3], Kaliñga Viṣaya[4], Varāhavarttinī Viṣaya[5], etc. The smallest unit was called *Grāma* and very often the *Grāma* was declared as an *Agrahāra* when donated to the Brāhmins. The *Bobbili Plates* of Chaṇḍavarman reveal

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1. *Dhavalapeṭā Grant of* Umāvarman.
2. *Vrhatproṣtha Grant of Umāvarman.*
3. *Barañga Grant of* Umāvarman.
4. *Rāgolu Grant* of Śaktivarman.
5. *Śāakunaka Grant* of Ananta Śaktivarman,

that there was a group of 36 *Agrahāra* besides some common *Agrahāra villages* and that although an *Agrahāra* was declared free of taxes it was to pay an annual cess of 200 paṇas only[1].

The theory of divine right of kingship which developed with the Gupta system of administration did not influence the administrative principles of the Māṭharas and no Māṭhara king is known to have compared himself with gods. They, however, seem to have attributed divine power to their ancestors and all the Māṭhara kings invariably call themselves either *Pitṛbhakta, Pitṛpāda bhakta* or *Bappabhaṭṭār ka pāda bhakta* Ananta Śaktivarman regards his father as divine and calls himself as a dovotee to the feet of Śaktibhaṭṭāraka, This, however, does not indicate anything more than a cult of father worship which was prevalent among the Śālaṅkāyanas, the Pallavas and other ruling dynasties of South India during that time.

Although the Māṭhara kings owed no allegiance to any external power and ruled independently over Kaliṅga, they did not assume any high sounding epithet even during the palmy days of their career. Śaktivarman who was ruling over the territory extending from the Mahānadī to the river Kṛṣṇā called himself simply Mahārāja following the tradition of his fore-father Viśākhāvarman who assumed the same title as a petty chief of the Parlakimedi region. A new change in the epithet was introduced by Mahārāja Prabhāñjanavarman who declared himself as 'Sakala Kaliṅgādhipati' but the titles like 'Rājādhirāja' and 'Mahārājādhirāja' were never borne by any of the Māṭhara kings.

The king was the supreme head of all branches of administration of the State and he was ruling with the help

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1. The payment of the annual cess of 200 paṇas is also referred to by the *Ningoṇḍi Grant* of Prabhañjana varman.

of only a few officers. Even after enlargement of the territory, with a series of conquests, the Māṭharas do not seem to have increased the number of officers in commensurate with the needs of the growing empire. The copper plate grants issued by the kings indicate the administrative set-up of the realm and we find there both civil and military officers actively co-operating with one another in the work of administration. The important civil officers were *Amātya* (the Minister), *Kumāra-Amātya* (a junior cadre of minister), *Talavara* (Revenue officer) *Deśākṣapaṭala* (the Record keeper) *Mahāpratihāra* (the Chamberlain) *Ājñā Bhogika*[1] (the Registrar) and *Dūtaka* (the Executor of royal orders). The military officers were *Mahāvalādhikṛta* (the Supreme head of the army), *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (the Commander-in-Chief), *Daṇḍanāyaka* (the General) and *Daṇḍanetā* the Commander of a contingent).

Some of the civil offices like that of *Deśākṣapaṭala* were hereditary. Mātṛvāra who is known to be a *Deśākṣapaṭala* in the *Andhavaram plates* of Ananta Śaktivarman was the son of Haridatta who was also *Deśākṣapaṭala*, while Mātṛvara's son Rudradatta also worked as *Deśākṣapaṭala* under Chaṇḍavarman. Sometime a single officer was given the charge of both civil and military duties as in the case of Mātṛvara who was a Record-keeper, as well as, a Commander (*Daṇḍa-nāyaka*) under king Ananta Śaktivarman. The post of the Record-keeper was considered to be an honourable one and Arjunadatta, who was an *Amātya* of king Śaktivarman and a *Talavara* under Ananta Śaktivarman worked in the capacity of the Record-keeper probably in the temporary absence of Mātṛvara.

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1. In *Śṛñgavarapukaṭa plate* of Anantavarman the title *Bhogika* is found which probably means the head of *a Bhoga* (district).

The Māṭhara system of administration was not a rigid bureaucracy and the kings who enjoyed absolute power were known to be ruling with great regard to tradition and ancient laws (Dharma). [1]

Kaliñga under the Māṭharas was enjoying a prosperous economic life because of her flourishing trade and commerce. The epigraphic records of the period reveal that both gold and silver coins known respectively as Hiraṇyas and paṇas were then in circulation in the territory. A hoard of copper coins recently discovered at Gaṇḍibeḍha in Balasore district, has been attributed by some scholars to the Māṭhara kings of Kaliñg.[2] But these coins having the emblem of the bull on the obverse can not be said to have been circulated by the kings who were the devout Bhāgavatas and the worshippers of the feet of Nārāyaṇa. Barter system was probably extensively prevalent specially in rural areas, and gold and silver coins were in use among the well-to-do people and in wholesale trade. The period of peace brought about by a stable Government gave impetus to trade both overland and over-seas, run by the guilds of merchants and bankers. Prosperous towns like piṣṭapura, Devapura, Siṁhapura, Vardhamānapura, Sunagara etc. developed during the period and were cannected with high roads which passed towards Veñgī in the South, Utkal in the North and Kosala in the West. Detailed accounts about the organisation of trade guilds in Kaliñga are not available from the charters of the Māṭharas. But contemporary records found in the Gupta and Vākāṭaka empires indicate that the principal trade during the period was carried on through guilds and

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1. स्व प्रजाधर्मेणानुशासिनः...
(*Niñgoṇḍi Grant*, *E. I.* XXX, pp. 112. f.)
2. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, prt. ii pp. 57, 72.

Corporations not only of the merchants but also of the workers like weavers, potters, oilmen, and stone-cutters. The manufacture of cloth is known to be a principal industry of Kaliñga, and among other articles of trade mention may be made of spices, cocoanuts, indigo, incense, ivory articles and drugs.

Kaliñga appears to have taken an important role in overseas trade of the period. The poet Kālidāsa describes the King of Kaliñga as 'Lord of the Sea'.[1] It was during this time that the people of Kaliñga established colonies in Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Indonesia, traces of which are found even at present. The Lower Burma (Pegu region) was called Talaing or Kaliñga while Upper Burma (Noth-west Burma) passed by the name Ukkala or Utkala. The immigrants from Eastern coast of India were called Kliñgs not only in Mālaya peninsula but also in Java and the Kliñgs were very likely the most familiar colonists from Kaliñga. The Kliñgs of Mālaya and Java and the Talaings or Kaliñgas of Pegu were subsequently merged with the Mon-khmer, a Sino-Tibetan stock, and gave rise to a racial and cultural synthesis in those lands.

In social life, Brāhmins were commanding greatest respect and the Māṭhara rulers were frequently donating lands to Brāhmins versed in different branches of the *Vedas*. *Agrahāra* villages and Brāhmin settlements began to multiply in Kaliñga and all these developed as centres of education and culture. The Brāhmins were divided into different groups according to different branches of the *Vedas* which they studied and it appears that the *Yajurvedī Brāhmins* were then in large number in Kaliñga. The Vaiśyas were engaged in

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1. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI.

trade, industry and agriculture and were enjoying respectable position in the society.

The important landmarks in the culture of the period are not only the development of Brāhmanism but also the adoption of Sanskrit as official language. The pre-Māṭhara records, so far available to us, are all written in Prākrit and the *Karaṣoṇḍa Copper plate* of king Viśākhāvarman is known to be the earliest Sanskrit record in Kaliñga. From this time onward (i. e. from the middle of the 4th century A. D.) till the end of the Gañga rule (i. e. about the middle of the 15th century) all official and non-official documents in Kaliñga are found to be written only in Sanskrit. The adoption of Sanskrit culture led to the popularisation of *Dharmaśāstras* and *Purāṇas* and the Māṭhara kings started quoting in their records imprecatory verses from *Dharmaśāstras*—a tradition which was adopted by other kings in succeeding ages.

Side by side with Brāhmanism, the Bhāgavata religion developed in Kaliñga to a considerable extent during this period. This religion became predominant in Northern India during the post-Aśokan period and by the first century B. C. could spread over the land of the Yavanas in the North-west and that of the Sātavāhanas in the South. Heliodoras, the ambassador of king Antialkidas of Taxila to the court of the Suñga king Bhāgabhadra, is known to have dedicated a *Garuḍadhwaja* pillar at Vidiśā to the honour of Viṣṇu[1]. The *Ghoṣuṇḍi Stone inscription* of king Sarvatāta (2nd half of the 1st century B. C.) a local king of the Rajputana region, refers to a stone enclosure for the garden named Nārāyaṇa Vāṭikā

1. See *Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription* of cir. 2nd – 1st century B. C. *J.B.B.R.A.S*, XXIII, p. 104, *Select Inscriptions* p. 90 ff.

dedicated to the worshsp of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva[1]. Queen Nāyanikā, the widow of Sātakarṇi the Lord of Dakhiṇāpatha, is found in her *Nānāghāṭ record* saluting Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva along with the Vedic gods.[2] But inspite of its widespread popularity, the Bhāgavata religion could not have its influence in the religious life of Kaliṅga till the period of Māṭhara rule. The Māṭhara kings, however, are found to be the followers of this religion. Kings like Umāvarman[3] and Ananta Śaktivarman[4] call themselves *Parama daivata* while Chaṇḍavarman[5] and Nanda Prabhañjana varman[6] declare themselves both as *Paramabhāgavata* and *Paramadaivata*. Ananta Śaktivarman, besides being a *Parama daivata* is a devotee at the feet of Nārāyaṇa[7], while king Prabhañjana varman declares himself as *Bhagavatsvāmi Nārāyaṇa pādabhakta*[8]. No other kings of Kaliṅga before the Māṭharas are known to have called themselves the followers of the Bhāgavata religion and so it appears plausible that the popularity of this religion in Kaliṅga is closely linked with the rise of the Māṭharas to power by the middle of the 4th century A. D.

Inspite of the growing popularity of Brāhmanism and Bhāgavatism, Buddhism did not lag behind influencing

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1. *E. I.* XVI p. 27
2. *Arch-Sur-West Ind.* V. pp. 60 f.
3. *Dhavalapeṭā Grant* (*E. I.* XXVI pp. 132-35)
4. *Śākunaka Grant* (E. I. XXVIII pp. 22-35)
5. *Paramabhāgavata in Bobbili Grant* (*E. I.* XXVII pp. 33-36) and *Paramadaivata in Komarti Grant* (*E. I.* IV pp. 142-45)
6. *Paramabhāgavata in Chicacole Grant* (*I. A.*) XIII pp. 48-50) and *Paramadaivata* in *Barañga Grant*. O. H. R. J. pp. 109 f.
7. Andhavaraṁ Grant *E. I.* XXVIII pp. 175-79.
8. *Niñgondi Grant E. I.* XXX pp. 112-18

the religious life of Kaliñga during the period. Mahāyāna Buddhism had a strong popular appeal and its cultural and missionary activities centred round a few monastic institutions organised in different parts of the country. The most important monastery in the 4th century A. D. was Bhoraśaila[1] which was the abode of the famous dialectician Dignāga. A group of low hills named Vindhyeśwarī, Sāāñlā, Pāāñrā, Baṇivakreśwara, Jumunājhāṛapaḍā and Arāgaḍa in modern Puri district are known to be the stronghold of the Buddhists as late as the medieval period[2] and the Bhoraśaila[3] has been identified with one of these hills. Āchārya Dignāga was a disciple of Vasubandhu who is known to be the contemporary of the Tibetan king Lha-tho-ri who died in 371 A. D.[4] and according to this consideration he (Dignāga) flourished about 400 A. D. Mallināṭha is of opinion that the poet Kālidāsa who refers to Dignāga in his *Meghadūta*[5] was a cantemporary of this Buddhist Āchārya. Dignāga was a famous dialectician and is regarded as the father of Buddhist logic. His *Pramāṇa Samucchaya* is one of the greatest work of his time. Dignāga is credited to have vanquished Īśvarakṛṣṇa, the author of *Sāñkhya Kārikā*, who came to the Bhoraśaila monastery to challenge his logic. According to Tibetan tradition, the then king of Kaliñga was a patron of Buddhist culture and his Chancellor of Exchequer named Bhadrapālita was a

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1. *Watters* II. p. 212.
2. *Mādalāpāñji*, Prāchī Ed. p. 25.
3. *Buddhism in Orissa* p. 83.
4. Csoma De Koros *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 182; *J.A.S.B.* Vol. I, 1905, p. 227.
5. *Meghadūta, Pūrvamegha*. Verse 14. Vide Webers, *Ind. Lit.* p. 209 note, p. 245 note.

disciple of Dignāga.[1] Bhadrapālita is known to have founded sixteen great *Vihāras* in different ptrts of Orissa to popularise Buddhism. Contemporaneous with Dignāga was flourishing another famous sage named Vasumitra and the records of Tibet reveal that during the stay of this Āchārya in Orissa a mine of precious stones was discovered in the territory.[2] Vasumitra had great respect in Kaliñga and he is known to have defeated in controversy a reputed Brāhmin philosopher named Makṣika. Like Dignāga he was also a disciple of Vasubandhu and wrote a learned commentary to *Abhidharma-Koṣaśāstra* of his preceptor.[3] The disciple of Vasumitra was Triratnadāsa whose abode was located somewhere on the sea-coast in Utkala. Triratnadāsa was a great friend of Dignāga and his work entitled *Anantaguṇa* was so highly admired by the latter that he made an abridgement of it for the benefit of the common people. Triratnadāsa is credited to have established fifty religious institutions in different parts of Orissa and tradition records that when a venomous sea serpent caused much ravages in Utkala this Āchārya saved the people subuding the monster by his spiritual powers.[4]

Thus, Brāhmanism, Bhāgavatism and Buddhism are known to be the three principal religions during the period when the Māṭharas ruled over Kaliñga.

An important feature in the social life of the country is noted in the system of reckoning time. In ancient India a

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1. For life and activities of Dignāga vide *J. A. S. B.* Vol. I, 1905, pp. 226 f. Vol. III pp. 221, *Watters* II pp. 211 f.
2. S. C. Das, *Early Records of Tibet, J.A.S.B.* Vol. III 1907, p. 222.
3. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the W. World,* I p. 110 Note; E. Burnouf, *Introduction a l' histoire du Buddhisme Indien* pp. 566 f.
4. For the activities of Triratnadāsa see *J. A. S. B,* Vol. III 1907, p. 222.

year was divided into three periods, viz., *Grīṣma, Varṣā* and *Hemanta* which were analogous with the periods of sowing, growing and harvest, found in vogue as early as the days of the ancient Egyptians. Each of these three divisions consisted of four lunar months and so the practice was popularly known as the *Chāturmāsī* system. The P. E. V.[1] of Aśoka reveals that this system of reckoning was in vogue in the empire of the Maruyas and the same practice is also found in the *Mathurā votive tablet Inscription* of the time ef Soḍāsa[2] (year 72). The tradition continued in Kaliñga as late as the period of the Māṭharas and many charters of this dynasty are known to be dated in this system.

According to Buddhist calculation Varṣā starts from the day following the *Āṣāḍhī Pūṇimā* and continues upto the *Kārttikī Pūrṇīmā*, while the Bhāgavatas reckon the season of Varṣā from *Āṣādha Śukla Ekādaśī* to *Kārttika Śukla Ekādaśi* which is believed to be the period of Viṣṇu's Slumber. The *Gañgdhr Stone Inscription*[3] of Viśvavarman dated in the Mālava year 480 (423 A, D.) reveals that the Bhāgavata system of reckoning was popular in Western India during that time. The Māṭhara kings being the devoted followers of the Bhāgavata religion seemed to have adopted such calculations but along with the *chāturmāsī* they followed a system of luni-solar reckoning. This system is found as early as the time of Kaniṣka and one *Sārnāth Buddhist image Inscription*[4] of his time dated in *Hemanta* 3, *divasa* 22, may be compared, so far as the reckoning of time is concerned, with the *Karaṣoṇḍa copper plate*[5]

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1. *C. I. I.* Vol. I pp. 153 f.
2. *E. I.* II p. 199, IX. pp. 243-44.
3. *C. I. I.* III pp. 74 f.
4. *E. I.* VIII pp. 173 f.
5. *E. I.* XXI, pp. 23-25.

of king Viśākhāvarman dated in *Hemaṁ 7 divasa* 20. The Māṭharas, however, are known to have dated their records both in the lunar and the luni-solar methods of the *Chāturmāsi* reckoning.[1] Their age was the period of transition from the *chāturmāsi* to month-wise lunar calculation in Kaliñga. The *Bobbili Grant* of king Chaṇḍavrman is dated in the *chāturmāsī* system but the *Komarti Grant* of the same king records time in terms of lunar months. Kings like Viśākhāvarman and Nanda Prabhañjana varman adopt *chātarmāsī* method while other kings of the same dynasty such as Umāvarman, Śaktivarman, Ananta Śaktivarman and Prabhañjana varman adopt only the lunar system of calculation. The *chāturmāsī* reckoning ceased to survive the age of the Māṭharas in Kaliñga.

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1. In lunar calculation we get expression like *Grīṣmapakṣa, Prathama-divasa, Trayodaśī* as in case of the *Barañga Grant* of Nanda Prabhañjana varman (*O. H. R. J. VI* p 113) or *Varṣā pakṣa Aṣtama tithi Pourṇṇamāsī* as in case of the inscription of the Western Kādaṁba king Mṛgeśavarman. (*I. A.* VIII p. 37). But when the Luni-solar calculation is adopted we find expressions like *Hemanta* 3 *divasa* 22 as in the inscription of Kaniṣka or *Hema 7 divasa* 20 as in the *Karaṣoṇḍa Grant.*

II

CONTEMPORARIES OF THE MĀṬHARAS

By the time the Māṭharas ruled over Kaliñga (cir 350-500 A.D.) a number of powerful royal families raised their heads in different parts of Orissa, notable among them being the Vāśiṣṭhas, the Nalas, the Mānas and the Bhañjas. The Vāśiṣṭhas were closely allied with the Māṭharas and although they had a strong hold in Devarāṣṭra region they could not probably found an independent principality before the fall of the Māṭharas. The account of their activities has been presented in Vol II of this work. To the West of the Māṭhara kingdom lay the Trikaliñga territory which was probably known as Mahākāntāra comprising the modern Bastar, Korāput and Kalāhāṇḍi regions. It was in this territory that the early Nalas rose to power by the time the Māṭharas flourished in Kaliñga. Mahākāntāra served as an important buffer territory between the dominions of the Vākāṭakas and the Māṭharas, and as such, the Nalas who played an important role as a bulwark against the Vākāṭakas, were a power friendly to the Māṭharas. The territory to the North of the Māṭhara kingdom beyond the Mahānadī was enjoyed by the Mānas and the Bhañjas the accounts of whose activities are not adequately known. We discuss below the history and culture of these families known from the available data.

Nalas.

The Nalas claim their descent from the Niṣāda king Nala of the epic fame and this is supported by the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* where it has been stated that the descendants of Nala would rule over Kosala[1]. Kings of this dynasty are known to us from two copper plate grants and two stone inscriptions and as many as 32 gold coins issued by them. The copper plates were found at Kesaribeḍā[2] in Koraput district of Orissa and at Riṭhāpur[3] in Amarāvatī district of Madhya Pradesh, while the stone inscriptions were discovered at Poḍāgadh[4] in the same Koraput district and at Rājim[5] in the Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. On the basis of these finds, B. V. Krishnarao[6] traces the dominion of the Nalas from the river Wain Gaṅgā in the West to the Indrāvatī in the South and from the Eastern Ghāts in the East to the Mekala region in the North. This territory was no doubt occupied by the Nalas when they were at the height of their power, but their original land was not so extensive, it being probably confined to the modern Koraput district of Orissa and Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. It has been pointed out above that one copper plate charter and one stone inscription of this dynasty have come to light in Koraput district and all the gold coins of the dynasty, so far known to us, were found in Bastar district. It may thus reasonably be suggested that the Bastar-Koraput region formed the territory over which the Nalas ruled in the 5th

1. Pargiter, *D. K. A.* p. 51.
2. *E. I.* XXVIII pp. 12-16.
3. *E. I.* XIX pp. 100-104.
4. *E. I.* XXI pp. 153-57.
5. *E. I.* XXVI pp. 49-68.
6. *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, p. 658.

and 6th centuries A. D. and this was probably the Nalavāḍi Viṣaya referred to in the *Kurnool Grant*[1] of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya I about the middle of the 7th century A. D.

The original capital of the Nala kingdom was Puṣkarī and the *Poḍāgadh Rock Inscription* indicates that the township was located close to that site. It is known from this inscription that the town was once destroyed by the enemies and was in a deserted condition, but it was subsequently repopulated by king Skandavarman. Poḍāgadh literally means a burnt fort and the very name suggests the destruction of the place apparently at the hands of the enemies. The surroundings of the rock, on which the inscription is engraved, though thickly wooded, present the ruins of an old township with scattered pieces of sculptures, group of Satī stones, broken temples and old tanks conveying the impression that Poḍāgadh, now forlorn and desolate, was a very prosperous and populated town in the past. We are inclined to identify this place with Puṣkarī, the old capital of the Nalas. Very likely the place was destroyed and reduced to ashes sometime after Skandavarman who had restored it after some earlier destruction of the town. The final destruction of it might have taken place sometimes during the early medieval period.

Some scholars[2] are inclined to suggest on the basis of the *Riṭhāpur Inscription* of Bhavattavarman that Nandivardhana, wherefrom the king issued the grant was the capital of the Nalas. It may, however, be said that Nandivardhana was the capital town of the Vākāṭaka kings of Berar as known from the *Poona Copper plate Inscription*[3] of

1. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* XVI. pp. 225-235.
2. See B. V. Krishna Rao, *E. D. A.* p. 660.
3. *E. I.* XV pp. 41 f.

Prabhāvatī Guptā of her regnal year 13 and the *Riṭhāpur Inscription* of Bhavattavarman only indicates that the Nala king had succeeded in occupying the Vākāṭaka capital for sometime during the protracted struggle between the Nalas and the Vākāṭakas. Nandivardhana has been identified with Nagardhan[1] 13 miles North of Nāgpur but as this place seems to be the same as the old Nāgavardhana, the more probable identification of the Vākāṭāka capital would be Nandapur[2], 34 miles North of Nāgpur.

The genealogy of the Nala kings has not yet been satisfactorily worked out. P. L. Mishra[3] is inclined to take king Mahendra of Kosala referred to in the *Allahabad pillar Inscription* as a Nala king. His argument that king Mahendrāditya who issued the Khairtal hoard of gold coins is identical with king Mahendra of *Allahabad pillar Inscription,* is based on a guess work and his suggestion that 'the name Mahendravarman sounds well with s me of the Nala rulers as Bhavadatta varman, Skandavarman, etc, is unwarranted since neither Mahendrāditya of the coin nor Mahendra of Allahabad Inscription has the surname Varman and no Nala king is known to have the title of 'Āditya' along with his name. Mahendrāditya of the Khairtal hoard is no other than Kumāragupta I, the Imperial Gupta monarch who is known from the legends of his coins to have assumed the title of Mahendrāditya and is referred to as Mahendrasiṁha, Aśvamedha Mahendra and also as Śrī Mahendra in epigraphic records. His silver coins found in Gujerat and Kathiawar contain the figure of Garuḍa on the obverse surrounded by

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1. *A New History of the Indian people* Vol. VI p. 114.
2. *JASB* (N. S.) XIX p. 159.
3. *I. H. Q.* XXXVII pp. 2-40.

the marginal legend-'Paramabhāgavata-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī -Kumāragupta-Mahendrāditya[1].

His silver-plated copper coins of the Valabhi fabric contain the same legend surrounding the figure of Garuḍa on the reverse[2]. Thus there can be no doubt that the coins of the Khairtal hoard[3] having the figure of the Garuḍa standing in out-stretched wings and bearing the legend Śrī Mahendrāditya, were also issued by Kumāragupta I, the Imperial Gupta monarch.

S. N. Rajguru[4] has pointed out that one of the seals found at Bhitā belongs to an early king of the Nala family. The seal in question contains the following legend-श्री विन्ध्यवेवन महाराजस्य माहेश्वर महासेनाति सृष्टराजस्य वृषध्वजस्य गौतमी पुत्रः य..... The appellation '*Māheśvara mahā- senātisṛṣṭa rājasya*' is without doubt a conventional expression found in the records of the Nala kings. In the copper plate inscriptions of the Nalas the traditional epithets run as follows :—

महामहेश्वर महासेनातिसृष्ट राज्य विभवः
नलनृप वंश प्रसू तः त्रिपताक ध्वजः

If the use of identical epithets indicates a family convention, Bṛṣadhvaja might be taken as belonging to the Nala family. The seal in question[5] has been ascribed by Marshall to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. and in view of its characters being similar to those of the Māṭhara and Śālaṅkāyana charters it may be attributed to about 400 A. D. The discovery of the seal at Bhītā near modern

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1. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gapta Dynasties*—pp. 89-94.
2. R. D. Banerji—*The Age of Imperial Guptas*. p. 240.
3. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. X, 1948 pp. 137-148.
4. *Inscriptions of Orissa* Vol. I, Part II, pp. 109 f.
5. *A. S. R.* 1911-12, p. 51, Seal no. 25.

Allahabad has led scholars to conclude that Bṛṣadhvaja was a ruler of that region, but the matronymic expression – Gautamīputrasya – indicates that he belonged to a South Indian family. His seal might have gone over to Bhītā in the train of Bhavadattavarman's campaign against Nandivardhana and his march from the latter place to Prayāga where he donated grants to the brāhmaṇas. If Bṛṣadhvaja be regarded as a Nala king and his matronymic appellation be taken into consideration, his territory may be assigned to the Bastar-Koraput area rather than to the Bhīta-Allahabad region.

The gold coins of the Nala kings, discovered in the village Edeñga in Bastar district, throw important light on the genealogy of the family. Out of the 32 gold coins, so far available to us, six large size, one middle size and 22 smaller size coins belong to a king named Varāharāja, while one large size coin belongs to Śrī Bhavadattarāja and two large ones to Śrī Arthapatirāja. Bavadattarāja of the coin is, without doubt the same as Bhavadatta of the *Poḍāgadh stone Inscription* and Bhavattavarman[1] of the *Riṭhāpur Copper Plates*, while Arthapatirāja is the same as king Arthapati of the *Kesaribeḍā* and *Riṭhāpur Copper-plate Inscriptions*. The king Varāharāja to whom belong the majority of the Edeñga coins is, hawever, not known to us from any epigraphic record. V. V. Mirashi[2], who has edited these coins, is of opinion that Varāharāja's coins 'appear to be the earliest and those of

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1. The scribe of the *Riṭhāpur Copper-Plate Inscription* seems to be in the habit of omitting the letter 'da' before the letter 'tta'. In line 9 in the second plate first side he writes Durgattā in place of Durgadattā, while in line 7 of the same plate he originally engraved Devatta and later on added the letter 'da' below the line by way of correction. There can thus be no doubt that the name of the king Bhavatta varman is a mistake for Bhavadattavarman.
2. *J. N. S. I.* 1939, p. 25-35.

Arthapati the latest of the whole lot.' This group of rulers may be assigned to the 5th century A. D. on the basis of Palaeography, the peculiar box-headed type of script engraved on the coins and the inscriptional records.

S. N. Rajguru has placed Arthapati as earlier than Bhavadatta; but the *Riṭhāpur Inscription* leaves no doubt in the fact that Mahārāja Arthapati was a son and successor of Bhavadatta. The colophon portion of this inscription reveals that the original grant which was verbally made by Bhavattavarman, was later on reduced to writing in his 11th regnal year and was subsequently confirmed by his son and successor Mahārāja Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka.

In the *Poḍāgadh Inscription*, king Skandavarman has been described as the noble son of king Bhavadatta 'the foremost (scion) of the glorious Nala family'. It may be pointed out that the *Riṭhāpur Grant* of Bhavatta varman and Arthapati, as well as, the *Kesaribeḍā Charter* of Arthapati are composed by Chulla who was in charge of vigilance Department (*Rahasyādhikṛta*), while the *Poḍāgarh stone Inscription* is composed by Janturadāsa, the son of Chauli who was very likely the son of Chula. Thus Bhavadattavarman had two sons—Arthapati and Skandavarman who successively ruled one after the other.

King Bhavadattavarman may be regarded as a contemporary of the Vākāṭaka ruler Narendrasena who was defeated and ousted from his capital by him. Pṛthivīsena II, the son and successor of Narendrasena succeeded in retrieving the fortunes of the family and he probably defeated and killed Arthapatirāja. The dates of these two Vākāṭaka monarchs have been tentatively fixed from 440 to 460 A. D. and from 460 to 480 A. D. respectively. In the light of this the date of Bhavadattavarman may be assigned to the

period from 440 A. D. to 465 A. D. and that of Arthapatirāja from 465 A·D. to 475 A. D. Skandavarman who succeeded Arthapati ruled during the last quarter of the 5th century A. D. and thus became the contemporary of the Vākāṭaka ruler Hariṣeṇa (of the Bāsim branch) whose date has been assigned from cir. 475 to 510 A D.

Another group of Nala kings is known from the inscriptions of Vilāsatuñga engraved on the left side of the *Maṇḍapa* of the Rājivalochana temple at Rājim in Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. It reveals that Vilāsatuñga was probably a son of Virūparāja who was the son of Pṛthivīrāja. According to Mirashi the inscription belongs to about 700 A. D. while Bhandarkar attributed it to the 8th century A. D. and Cunningham remarked that on palaeographical ground it belongs not later than the 8th or 9th century A. D. This may be tentatively assigned to cir. 700 A. D.

The genealogy of the Nala kings as known from the above discussion may be presented as follows :—

Bṛṣadhvaja	(Cir. 400 A. D.)
|	
Varāharāja	(upto Cir. 440 A. D.)
|	
Bhavadattavarman	(cir. 440-465 A. D.)
|	
Arthapatirāja	(cir. 465 to 475 A. D.)
|	
Skandavarman	(cir. 475 to 500 A. D.)
⋮	
Pṛthvīrāja	
|	
Virūparāja	
|	
Vilāsatuñga	(cir. 700 A. D)

The political history of the rule of the Nala kings has not yet been properly discussed. Earlier kings like

Bṛṣadhvaja and Varāharāja are known to us only by their names. The large number and varieties of gold coins issued by Varāharāja clearly indicate that he was an independent ruler of this dynasty and had a long and prosperous rule. The growing strength of the Nalas was naturally felt by the Vākāṭakas who had acquired suzerainty over Bastar-Koraput region probably since the time of Pravarasena I who flourished during the earlier part of the 4th century A. D. The Nalas seem to have consolidated their position when the Vākāṭaka empire was under the regency of queen Prabhāvatīguptā (cir. 390—410 A. D.) and king Varāharāja proclaimed independence and rose to great prominence. The clash of strength between the Nalas and the Vākāṭakas started during the rule of Narendrasena, son and successor of Pravarasena II and the Nala king who fought against the Vākāṭaka power is known to be Bhavadattavarman who was very likely a successor of Varāharāja. The fight between the Nalas and the Vākāṭakas seem to be a protracted one and Skandagupta, the contemporary Gupta monarch (456—467 A. D. who was then under continuous stress of war, could not interfere in this struggle. Bhavadattavarman inflicted a crushing defeat on the Vākāṭakas and marched as far as the imperial capital Nandivardhana which was eventually occupied by him. Narendrasena who was then hard pressed by the Traikuṭakas of southern Gujerat, was unable to stand against the onslaught of the Nalas and was forced to retreat from his capital. Sometime after this victory, Bhavadattavarman marched to the holy Prayāga apparently on a pilgrimage where he donated a village named Kadambagiri, for acquiring blessings on himself and his queen, to Matrādhyāryya of the *Parāsara gotra* and his eight sons named Devāryya, Devadattāryya, Kumāradattāryya, Vīradattāryya, Vasudattāryya, Gaurīdattāryya, Dhruvadattāryya and Durggadattāryya. This grant was made in the 11th regnal year of king Bhavadattavarman and it thus appears

that the Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana was occupied by him about the middle of the 5th century A. D. Bhavadattavarman continued to occupy the heart of the Vākāṭaka empire till the end of his rule as indicated by the colophon portion of his *Riṭhāpur Copper plate Grant* but his son Mahārāja Arthapati had to suffer serious reverses at the hands of Pṛthvīsena II, son and successor of Narendrasena. The *Bālāghāt Plates*[1] of Pṛthvīsena reveal that this monarch rescued the fortunes of his family twice and although the record does not inform us about the enemies defeated by him on these two occasions there can be no doubt that they were the Nala king Arthapatirāja and the Traikuṭaka king Dhārasena. Arthapatirāja was crushingly defeated by Pṛthvīsena II and the Nalas were expelled from the Vākāṭaka dominion. The *Kesaribeḍā Copper plate Grant* was made by Arthapati probably after his expulsion from Nandivardhana. This grant was issued from the headquarters Puṣkarī donating the village Keselaka in favour of Durggāryya, Ravirāryya and Ravidattāryya all belonging to the *Kautsasa gotra*. Pṛthvīsena seems to have marched against the Nala capital as a measure of retaliation and devastated the town of Puṣkarī. Arthapatirāja was probably killed in the battle sometime about 475 A. D. and his brother Skandavarman ascended the throne and continued the struggle with the enemies. The Vākāṭakas succeeded in repulsing the Traikuṭakas and the Nalas, but they were unable to smash the power of these two ruling dynasties. The Traikuṭaka king Vyāghrasena, the successor of Dhārasena continued in power and remained a potential danger for the Vākāṭakas. The Nala king Skandavarman, on the other hand, hurled back the Vākāṭakas from his own territory and restored and repopulated the capital town Puṣkarī.

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1. *E. I.* IV. pp. 67 f.

Both Bhavadattavarman and his son Arthapatirāja were devout Śaiva but Skandavarman was a worshipper of Hari. He is known from his *Poḍāgadh Stone inscription* to have enshrined the foot-print of Viṣṇu with the hope of obtaining religious merit for his father, mother and other ancestors, as well as, for himself. He also founded an *Agrahāra* for carrying on the worship of Viṣṇu and endowed a *Satra* attached to the temple for feeding the Brāhmaṇas, the ascetics, the poor and the destitute.

As pointed out above, Skandavarman was probably a contemporary of the Vākāṭaka emperor Hariṣeṇa of the Bāsim branch. The *Ajantā Inscription*[1] reveals that Hariṣeṇa extended his political supremacy over Gujerat, Malwa, South Kosala, Andhra and Kuntala. The occupation of Gujerat and South Kosala indicates the discomfiture of the Traikuṭakas and the Nalas respectively, the two great enemies of the Vākāṭakas. Skandavarman thus had to encounter the formidable power of Hariṣeṇa and was overwhelmed by the latter sometime about 500 A. D. The victory of the Vākāṭakas over the Nalas was a decisive one and it effectively broke down their power.

The subsequent history of the Nalas is not so eventful and vigorous. They are known to have been subdued by the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman (566-598 A. D.) who is described in the *Aihole Inscription*[2] as the night of doom to the Nalas[1] and subsequently Vikramāditya I, the Western Chālukya monarch gave a crushing blow on them about the middle of the 7th century A. D.[3] The Nalas there-after appear to have

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1. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series, no. 14.*
2. *E. I.* VI, pp. 1 f.
3. *J. B. B. R. S.* XVI pp. 225 f.

shifted towards the Upper Mahānadī valley where they established a small principality for themselves probably at the cost of the Śarabhapurīyas. The inscription in the Rājiva-lochana temple of Rajim reveals the rule of at least three Nala kings in that territory—Pṛthvīrāja, Virūparāja and the latter's son Vilāsatuñga. Nothing more, however, is known about the later group of kings of this dynasty. Very probably, Vilāsatuñga was defeated by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Tivaradeva who occupied the whole of South Kosala about 700 A. D.

Political and Cultural Importance of the Nala Rule

The Nalas ruled over the Bastar-Korāput region which was a part of the ancient Āṭavika territory and later on became well known in history as the land of Trikaliñga.[1] The geographical location of their kingdom made them a buffer power between the Māṭharas of Kaliñga and the Vākāṭakas of Central India. The Nalas were the great enemies of the Vākāṭakas and as such, proved an effective bulwark against the aggression of the latter over Kaliñga. They were very likely an important ally of the Māṭharas but not much is known about political relations between these two powers.

The Nalas, unlike the Māṭharas, professed the theory of divine origin of kingship and believed that upon them was bestowed the glory of royalty by Maheśwara (Śiva) and Mahāsena (Kārttikeya)[2]. Rulers like Arthapati frequently

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1. The name Trikaliñga is found in the *Jirjiñgi Grant* (E. I. XXV. pp. 28lf.) of Indravarman I dated in Gañga year 39 i. e., cir 537 A.D.
2. Found in the preamble of the *Riṭhāpur plates* of Bhavadatta varman and the *Kesaribeḍā plates* of Arthapati.

bore the epithet Bhaṭṭāraka conveying the sense of divinity.[1] The Nala kings were, without doubt, great warriors and they were personally leading the army to the battle field. Their banner was known as '*tripatāka*' and it probably consisted of three pennons.[2]

The Nalas succeeded in establishing a stable government which led to the growth of commerce and contributed to the prosperity of their kingdom. Trade routes from Kaliñga to Kosala, as well as, to central and northern India, passed through their kingdom and rivers like Indrāvatī and Godāvarī connected it with Veñgi and other territories in the South. The prosperity of the Nala kingdom is testified by the circulation of gold coins by the kings of the dynasty and also by their large scale fight with the Vākātakas, who were then a great power in India.

The Nala kings were great patrons of learning and literature. The writer Chulla, who composed the *Riṭhāpur plates* of Bhavadatta varman, as well as, the *Kesaribeḍā plates* of Arthapati in Sanskrit prose, was given the charge of Intelligence Department (Rahasyādhikṛta). Jantura Dāsa, the grand-son of Chulla (son of Chaulī) is known to be a great poet and the *Poḍāgadh Stone inscription* of Skanda varman has been composed by him in *Anuṣṭup* metre which is unique in its type in the epigraphic literature of India. Scholars like Mātrādhyāryya and his son; Chakradroṇa and his son; Paddopādhyāryya and his son Voppadeva; and Biswarūpa the son of Aja were being duly honoured by the Nala kings.

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1. The name Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka is found in the colophon of the *Riṭhāpur plates* of Bhavadatta varman.
2. The expression त्रिपताक ध्वज may also mean one whose banner contained figure of a hand with three fingers spread out.

The Nala kings were patronising the Brāhmins and granting lands to them in group, for their own religious merit. King Bhavadatta Varman granted land to Mātrādhyāryya and his eight sons belonging to *Parāsara gotra*, while king Arthapati donated the village Keselaka to a group of three Brāhmins, all belonging to *Kautsasa gotra*. The idea of protecting the cows and the Brāhmins along with the subjects, was cherished by the Nalas and in fact, Bhavadatta Varman in his *Riṭhāpur Grant* expresses his desire for bliss and happiness of these three categories.[1] A sacred dip in the Ganges, particularly at prayāga, the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, was considered to be of great religious merit, and it was believed that the confluence of these two rivers had been purified by the divine favour of Bhagavān Prajāpati (Brahmā).

The Nala kings were not only the staunch supporters of Brāhmanism but also were the upholders of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. The early kings like Bhavadatta varman and Arthapati were worshippers of Śiva and Mahāsena, while king Skanda varman was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu. The *Poḍāgadh Inscription* reveals that Skandavarman enshrined the foot prints of Viṣṇu in the town of Puṣkarī, which was the royal capital. The free feeding house (*Satra*) attached to this shrine was meant for supplying food not only to Brāhmins and ascetics but also to the poor and the destitute. The footprint symbolises the dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu and it appears that the idea of divine incarnation was popular in the Nala kingdom. Viṣṇu was regarded not only as the ultimate reality but also as a personal God. The *Poḍāgadh Inscription* declares "Hari was

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1. स्वस्ति गोब्राह्मणप्रजाभ्यः—सिद्धिरस्तु (*Riṭhāpur plates* L

victorious, is victorious and will be victorious'"[1] and also states "verily the Divine Hari is Himself the conquest, the object to be conquered and also the conqueror."[2]

Mānas.

The territory lying to the North of the Māṭhara kingdom, beyond the river Mahānadī was under the rule of a new dynasty, a king of which very likely circulated the Gaṇḍibeḍha hoard of coins. A hoard of 147 copper coins have been discovered from the village Nanduru near Gaṇḍibeḍha in Balasore district[3], and these coins although of different weights and sizes contain almost identical symbols and legends. The symbol on the obverse is a couchant bull and the legend on the reverse consists of four letters of box-headed variety which are similar to those of the Māṭhara epigraphs. The legend may be read as 'Sunanda Vu' although S. N. Rajguru[4] prefers the reading 'Sunandasya' or 'Śrī Nandasya'. Palaeographically these coins may be acribed to the 5th century A. D. and so king Sunanda and some rulers of his family may be said to be flourishing as contemporaries of the Māṭhara kings of Kaliñga.

It is, however, difficult to say anything about the dynasty to which king Sunanda belongs. S. N. Rajguru, who

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1. हरिणाजितं जयति जेष्यति
2. ननु भगवानेवजयो जेतव्यं चाधिजेता च
3. The hoard was discovered by Śrī Satya Narayan Rajguru in 1952. See *O. H. R. J.*, V. pp. 157-59.
4. *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. V. p. 158.
   Śrī Rajguru in *Inscriptions of Orissa* Vol. I. part II p. 57, argues that the letter वु of the legend श्रीनन्दवु may be a numerical symbol standing for 1000, which he is inclined to take either as Buddha nirvāṇa era or Vīranirvāṇa era. But it is difficult to accept these suggestions and Rajguru himself admits that there is no evidence of the usage of these eras in Orissa.

was earlier of the opinion that the issuer of the Gaṇḍibeḍha coins was a member of the Māna dynasty of Toṣala[1], later on changed his views and declared that this ruler probably belonged to the Māṭhara dynasty of Siṁhapura.[2] But if king Sunanda be regarded as a king of the Gaṇḍibeḍha region he can not be a king of the Māṭhara family of Siṁhapura whose territory extended upto the river Mahānadī in the North. According to Rajguru the village Nanduru, the find spot of the coins, may have been named after this king, but the Māṭhara dominion is not known from any source to have extended as far as this place. Moreover the rulers of the Māṭhara family invariably professed the Bhāgavata form of religion and king Sunanda who was undoubtedly a Śaiva by faith, probably belongs to a dynasty other than the Māṭhara.

The territory of Sunanda is known to be under the rule of the scions of the Māna family during the 6th century A D. The *Soro Copper Plate*[3] dated in Saṁvat 260 (580 A. D.) reveals the rule of a king named Śaṁbhūyaśa of Mudgala family over Uttar Toṣalī comprising the Balasore region. That the Mudgala family, to which Śaṁbhūyaśa belonged, was very probably the same as the Māna dynasty, is known from the *Paṭiākelā Plate*[4] of Śivarāja, a feudatory of the former. This plate dated in Saṁvat 233 (603 A. D.) indicates that Śaṁbhūyaśa, the overlord of Śivarāja was a ruler of the Māna dynasty. The account of the Māna rule over Uttar Toṣalī or Utkala, has not yet been properly known owing to paucity of reliable evidences. Although rulers of this family were flourishing in Balasore region in the 2nd half of the 6th

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1. *O. H. R. J.*, V., p. 10.
2. *Ibid* p.159.
3. *E. I.* XXIII, p. 201.
4. *E. I.* IX. pp. 285-88.

century A. D., there is no definite evidence to show that they were also ruling over that region during the early part of that century. But king Śaṁbhūyaśa was to all probability, not the first ruler of the Māna dynasty of Toṣalī and it is not unlikely that his predecessors ruled over that region during the first half of the 6th century A. D. In that consideration king Sunanda, who is ascribed to cir. 500 A. D., may be taken as an early Māna ruler. The large number and varieties of his coins indicate that he ruled for a considerably long period over a flourishing kingdom. The missing link between him and Śaṁbhūyaśa requires careful investigation.

A rock inscription[1] at Dudhpāṇi, in the Hazaribagh district, assigned to the 8th century A D., refers to a king named Ādisiṁha who made three brothers—Udayamāna, Śrīdhautamāna and Ajitamāna, the lords of three villages. The inscription states that these three brothers were originally the merchants from Ayodhyā which may be identified with the village of the same name in modern Balasore district, and the rich antiquities of early medieval period of the village indicates that it was a notable place during that time. An inscription from Govindpur in Gayā district of Bihar, dated in the Śaka year 1059 (A. D. 1137) reveals that the Mānas were flourishing as local rulers of that region in the 12th century A. D. It appears that the Mānas who were ruling over North-eastern part of Orissa during 5th-6th century A. D. migrated to Chhoṭanāgpur and Southern Bihar in subsequent period.[2]

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1. Noticed by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *J. K. H. R. S.* II. p. 40.
2. Dr. Sircar is, however, of opinion that the original principality of the Māna kings lay somewhere in the hilly region between the Midnapur and Gayā districts and gradually extended over nearly the whole of modern Orissa by the later part of the 6th century A. D. This suggestion appears untenable.
(*A New History of the Indian People*—Vol. VI p. 84)

Bhañjas.

The account of another dynasty which flourished during this period in Keoñjhar region is known from the relics at Sitābiñjhi and Deñguāpoṣi, two adjacent villages in Keoñjhar district. In between these two tiny villages mostly inhabited by aboriginal people, are found extensive ruins of a township which was once an important place in this region. A small inscription, consisting of only nine letters, is found in a rock-shelter called Rāvaṇa-chhāyā which also contains a tempera painting (described below). The reading of the inscription, as well as, the date of its script have, however, given rise to some controversy. B. Misra and K. C. Panigrahi jointly read the inscription as *Rāgarāja Śrī Diśābhañja* and ascribed it to the 4th century A. D.[1] on palaeographical consideration. T. N. Ramchandran[2] and D. C. Sircar[3] both read the inscription as *Mahārāja Śrī Diśābhañja* but while the former assigned it to about 4th century A. D. the latter considered it to be of the period between 8th and 12th century A. D. In assigning its date Sircar has been led by the idea that Diśābhañja of this inscription is possibly identifical with Digbhañja-Diśābhañja of Khiñjalīmaṇḍala, who actually ruled about the 10th century A. D.[4] But the record in question may be assigned to a period after the *Bhadrak Stone inscription*[5] of Mahārāja Gaṇa and before the *Soro plate*[6] of Śaṁbhūyaśa and its date

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1. *Modern Review*, March, 1938. pp. 301-4.
2. *J. A. H. R. S.* XIX pp. 191f.
   See also *Artibus Asia* (Institute of Fine Arts, Newyork University), XIV½ pp 5-25.
3. *I. H. Q.* XXVIII-pp. 227-28.
4. *E. I.*—XXVIII p. 275 Note 2.
5. *E. I.*, XXIX, pp. 169f.
6. *E. I.*, XXIII, pp. 201f.

may, therefore, be ascribed to the 4th-5th century A. D. R. C. Majumdar[1] while agreeing with the fact that the inscription belongs to about 4th-5th century A. D. expresses doubt about its correct reading, as according to him the last word appears more like Diśagaja than Diśābhañja. He suggests a conjectural reading *Siṁharāja Śri Diśagaja* and remarks that "some body scribbled on the rock two words denoting a lion (*Sigha = Siṁha*) and an elephant (*Dig-gaja*) perhaps as an explanatory label of the fresco painting which represented a scene of hunting a lion with the help of elephants." But the reading and interpretation of the inscription, suggested by Majumdar, appear untenable. The painting presents a scene of royal procession and there is no definite indication for interpreting its theme to be of lion hunting. Majumdar has, however, recently accepted the reading of Ramachandran as *Mahārāja Śrī Diśabhañja*[2].

The name-ending of the king indicates that he probably belonged to the Bhañja family. It is, however, not possible to say anything definite about the family of this ruler as it is not known whether his predecessors and successors had this name-ending. We have instances of rulers having the name-ending Bhañja and claiming to belong to a family which they call Drumarājakula (the family of Drumarāja). Neṭabhañja of Navāñgulakapattana known from his *Baud plates*[3] (ascribed to early 9th century A. D.) belonged to Drumarāja family and this Neṭabhañja is very likely identical with his nameshake who issued the *Russelkoṇḍā Grant*[4] in his 26th regnal year. The *Russelkoṇḍā Charter* reveals

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1. *Outline of the Hisiory of the Bhañja kings of Orissa* (Reprinted from the Dacca University studies) p. 25.
2. *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol IV. pp. 73-74.
3. *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVII, pp. 104-18.
4. *E. I.*, XXVIII, pp. 258-63 also *O. H. R. J.*, I, pp. 265-70.

that king Neṭabhañja was the inheritor of the fortune of 99 past generations of kings. This, however, appears to be a conventional number but it indicates that the family to which Neṭabhañja belonged, was an old one. It may therefore, be suggested that Diśābhañja of *Sitābinjhi Inscription* might be one of the ancestors of Neṭabhanja, although it cannot be confirmed until further discovery throws sufficient light on it.

The painting found in the Rāvaṇachhāyā rock-shelter is not the only antiquarian relic of Sitābiñjhi. It has already been stated that the ruins of an ancient township are lying scattered in between the two aboriginal villages Sitābiñjhi and Deñguāpoṣi. One can find here ruined temples and buildings and mounds of broken bricks representing dwelling-houses in the midst of jungles and low hills. A broken temple of Śiva can well be recognised and at the neighbourhood of it is lying a Chaturmukha liñgaṁ[1] which was very likely enshrined in the temple. About a dozen of inscribed boulders are found scattered near the temple and these are yet to be satisfactorily desciphered. All these appear to be votive inscriptions left by the Śaiva devotees and the characters indicate a South Indian variety datable to the 5th century A. D.

Besides Rāvaṇachhāyā, a number of natural rock-shelters are also found there and one of them contains an inscription in the same characters which may be read as '*Puruḍhasa Chhicha Maruta*' meaning that the shelter belonged to one Maruta, the disciple of Puruḍha. Maruta

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1- According to T. N. Ramachadran, this Mukhaliñgaṁ may be assigned to the Gupta period on the ground of its artistic technique. He particularly points out the flap or foreskin of the phallus that can be seen below the heads of Śiva.

and his preceptor Puruḍha were very likely Śaiva ascetics and they may be assigned to cir. 5th century A. D.[1]

A number of Kuṣān coins are known to have been discovered from this site and various types of metalic objects, as well as, a soap stone figurine have also been found. The antiquities indicate that Sitābiñjhi was a flourishing township during the early Christian centuries, and as pointed out before, it was lying on the famous trade route that ran from Kaliñga towards Northern India[2]. This town became a famous centre of Śiva worship about the 5th century A. D. when pilgrims and ascetics used to visit the place for gaining religious merit. It is interesting to notice that when the Bhāgavata religion was thriving in the Māṭhara kingdom to the South of the Mahānadī, Śaivism was gaining popularity to the North of that river in the territories of the Mānas and the Early Bhañjas.

The most important relic of the place is the painting found in the rock-shelter Rāvaṇachhāyā, which very likely belonged to the time of Mahārāja Diśābhañja who got it painted to commemorate some important event. This natural rock-shelter is built by two big boulders, the upper one being projected about 15 feet on one side in the shape of a sun shade. The height from the floor level to the ceiling of the projecting rock is 22 feet and it is on the ceiling that the painting which is of tempera type depicts the scene of a royal procession in five different colours : buff, white, brown, red and yellow-ochre, the last two being prominently visible at present. The scene consists of a king who is seated on a caparisoned elephant, holding the goad in the right hand and a water lily in the left hand; a royal attendant riding

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1. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 217.
2. See *Supra*, Ch. VII.

the same elephant behind the king holding a fly-whisk in the right hand and a parasol for the king in the left hand; a horseman on a spirited horse which is galloping ahead of the elephant and a band of retainers on foot marching forward in the front among whom may be marked four men and one woman, while a female attendant wearing a skirt up to the knee and tightening a piece of white cloth on her upper limbs walks behind the elephant trying to keep pace with the party.

The painting is a realistic one although some idealistic elements are added to it by depiction of Vidyādharī figures hovering in the sky just above the head of the king. Some scholars have attempted to identify the king and according to Balasubramanyam[1] he is king Kappina of Kukkuṭavatī proceeding with his retinue to meet the Buddha at Savatthi (Srāvasti). We are, however, inclined to believe that the king in the painting is no other than Diśābhañja and his name has been inscribed just below the elephant probably with the purpose of revealing his identity. The pictorial style of the painting may be compared with those of some famous frescoes in the caves of Ajantā attributed to the Gupta age, particularly with the scenes in cave no. XVII. The style is simple and natural and it is marked by expressive gesture and physiognomy. There is no tendency to display the dress and jwellery and in fact, costume of the persons including that of the king, is rather plain and simple. This art tradition appears to have come from the Vākāṭaka kingdom where the Ajantā school of art flourished, and it suggests cultural contact of the Vākāṭakas with the Utkala region, the details of which are yet to be properly studied.

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PLATES

Plate—I

Fig. 1. Kulei—2

145 x 97 x 63 mm. Early Stone Āge; almond-shaped, pebble—butted, bifacial hand-axe; brown quartzite; biconvex cross-section, moderately rolled.

2. Pāllaharā – 14

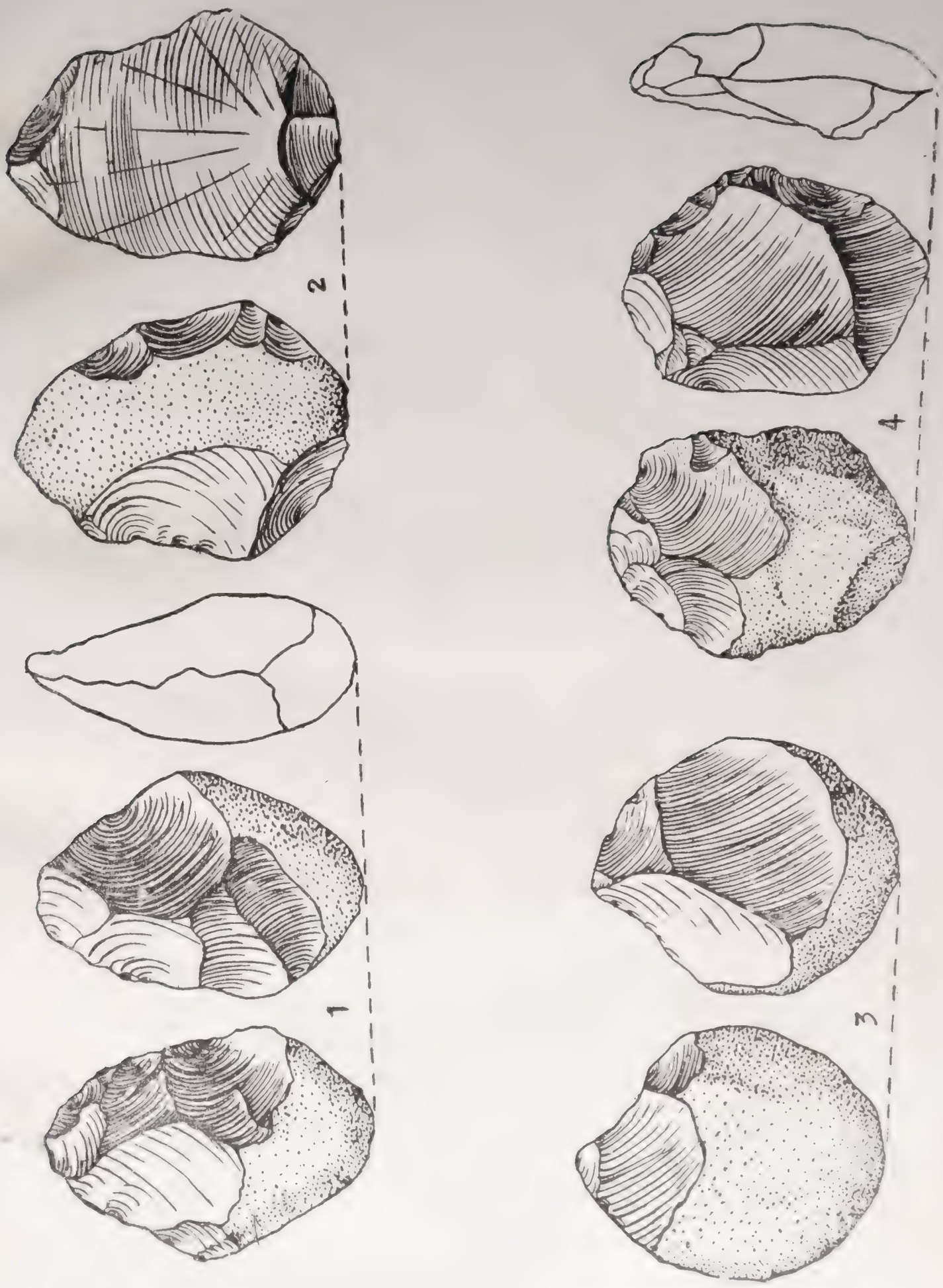
150 x 113 x 48 mm. Early Stone Age, unifacial hand-axe on an end-flake; brown quartzite; slightly sinous profile; thick; working edge; roughly biconvex cross-section; heavily rolled.

3. Harichandanpur – 9

120 x 103 x 50 mm. Early Stone Age, irregularly flaked pebble; brown quartzite red ferruginous staining on the pebble cortex; slightly rolled.

4. Meramaṇḍdali – 1

107 x 82 x 35 mm. Early .Stone Age, irregularly flaked pebble; bluish quartzite; plano-convex cross-section; slightly rolled.


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Plate—II

Fig. 1. Bisai – 17

157 x 96 x 60 mm. Early Stone Age 'U' shaped, oblique-edge, cleaver; brown quartzite; roughly trapezite; roughly trapezoid cross-section; slightly rolled.

2. Bhālituṇḍi—1

87 x 69 x 27 mm. Early Stone Age small 'U' shaped cleaver on an end-flake; brown quartzite; unifacial; slightly oblique convex edge; roughly plano-convex cross-section; slightly rolled.

3. Domuhāni—1

101 x 71 x 27 mm. Early Stone Age unifacial hollow or concave scraper on a side-flake; dolerite; triangular cross-section; rolled.

4. Chakrasil—3

101 x 58 x 20 mm. Early Stone Age unifacial point on an end-flake; greenish quartzite; triangular cross-section; rolled and weathered.

5. Harichandanpur—35

62 x 62 x 22 mm. Early Stone Age unifacial point on an indeterminate-flake; brown quartzite; triangular cross-section; rolled.

6. Harichandanpur—43

60 x 35 x 17 mm. Early Stone Age unifacial point on an end-flake; tip broken; white quartzite; plano-convex cross-section; rolled.

7. Tālcher Revenue Rest Shed Tank—2

74 x 67 x 44 mm. Early Stone Age pebble-core white quartzite; fresh.

8. Harichandanpur—16

76 x 57 x 19 mm. Early Stone Age side-scraper on a triangular side-flake, unifacial; cream-coloured quartzite, plano-convex cross-section; slightly rolled.

9. Harichandanpur – 46

55 x 41 x 20 mm. Early Stone Age side-scraper on an end-flake; unifacial; white quartzite; scraping-edge on both sides; plano-convex cross-section; slightly rolled and weathered; red ferruginous staining throughout.

10. Kaliākaṭā – 8

71 x 43 x 20 mm. Early Stone Age side-scraper on an indeterminate-flake; unifacial; greenish quartzite; plano-convex cross-section; slightly rolled.

11. Harichandanpur—39

63 x 46x20 mm. Early Stone Age bifacial side-scraper on an indeterminate-flake; unifacial; brown quartzite; slightly rolled and weathered.

12. Harichandanpur—21

59 x 47 x 28 mm. Early Stone Age bifacial side-scraper; brown quartzite; biconvex cross-section; slightly rolled and weathered; red ferruginous staining throughout.

13. Harichandanpur—

53 x 39x 20 mm. Early Stone Age unifacial point on a indeterminate-flake; white quartzite; roughly trapezoid cross-section; rolled.

14. Champuā—9

77 x 57 x 22 mm. Early Stone Age round-scraper on an end-flake; unifacial; jasper shaded with red and blue; triangular cross-section; slightly rolled.

15. Harichandanpur – 36

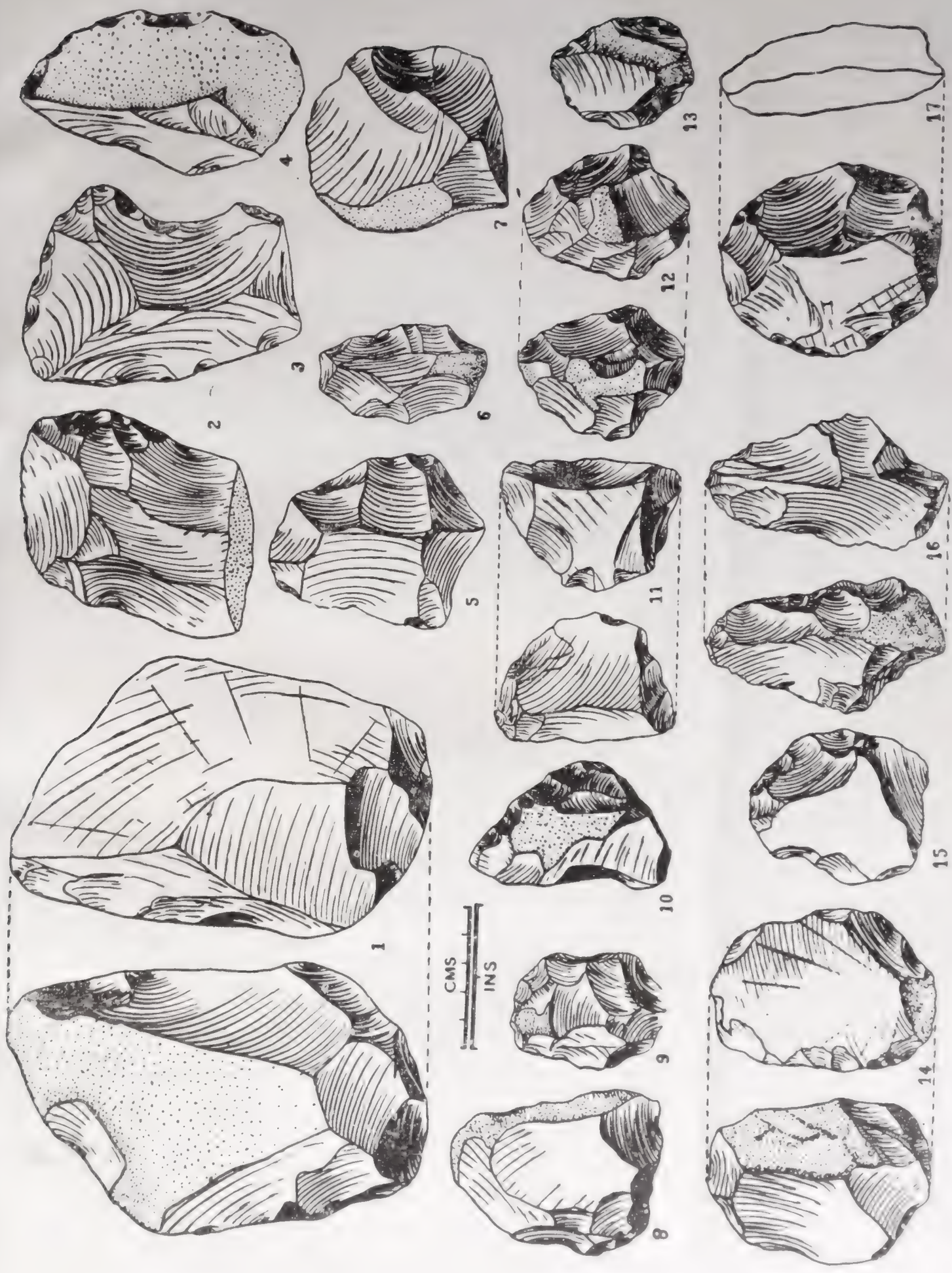
61 x 55 x 19 mm. Early Stone Age round-scraper a side-flake; unifacial; bluish quartzite; slightly rolled.

16. Harichandanpur—44

81 x 46x 26 mm. Early stone age bifacial point; brown quartzite; 'S' twist profile; plano-convex cross-section; almost fresh.

17. Harichandanpur—13

74 x 66 x 29 mm. Early Stone Age bifacial discoid; fine grain quartzite shaded with cream and pink; biconvex cross-section; slightly rolled.


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Plate—III

Fig. 1. Harichandanpur—7

123 x 78 x 39 mm. Early Stone Age, fully flaked bifacial hand-axe made out of a pebble; elongated-oval; brown quartzite; plano-convex cross-section; slightly rolled; black and white calcareous incrustations on the pebble-cortex.

2. Bijātalā—1

112 x 78 x 29 mm. Early Stone Age, peariform, fully-flaked, bifacial hand-axe; bluish medium-grain quartzite; biconvex cross-section; almost fresh.

3. Pāllaharā—2

135 x 80 x 39 mm. Early Stone Age, oblique-convex-edge, unifacial, cleaver; 'U' shaped; brown quartzite; roughly triangular cross-section; rolled.

4. Mahuliā—6

121 x 76 x 40 mm. Early Stone Age, peariform fully flaked, bifacial hand-axe; brown quartzite; biconvex cross-section; slightly rolled.

5. Banspāl—2

152 x 86 x 45 mm. Early Stone Age unifacial, side-scraper on a pebble; brown quartzite, roughly triangular cross-section; slightly rolled.

6. Harichandanpur—3

135 x 92 x 48 mm. Early Stone Age, peariform, fully flaked, bifacial handaxe; milky crystal quartzite; biconvex cross-section; slightly rolled and weathered.

7. Barasol—1

127 x 85 x 50 mm. Early Stone Age, pebble-butted pearifrom, bifacial handaxe; blackish quartzite; the unflaked pebble portion has a plano-convex cross section, whereas the cross-section of the flaked anterior is biconvex; slightly rolled.


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Plate—IV

Fig. 1. Kaliākaṭā—2

182 x 90x50 mm. Early Stone Age, bifacial elongated-peariform hand-axe, brown quartzite; biconvex cross-section; red ferruginous incrustations in patches; fresh.

2. Pratāppur—2

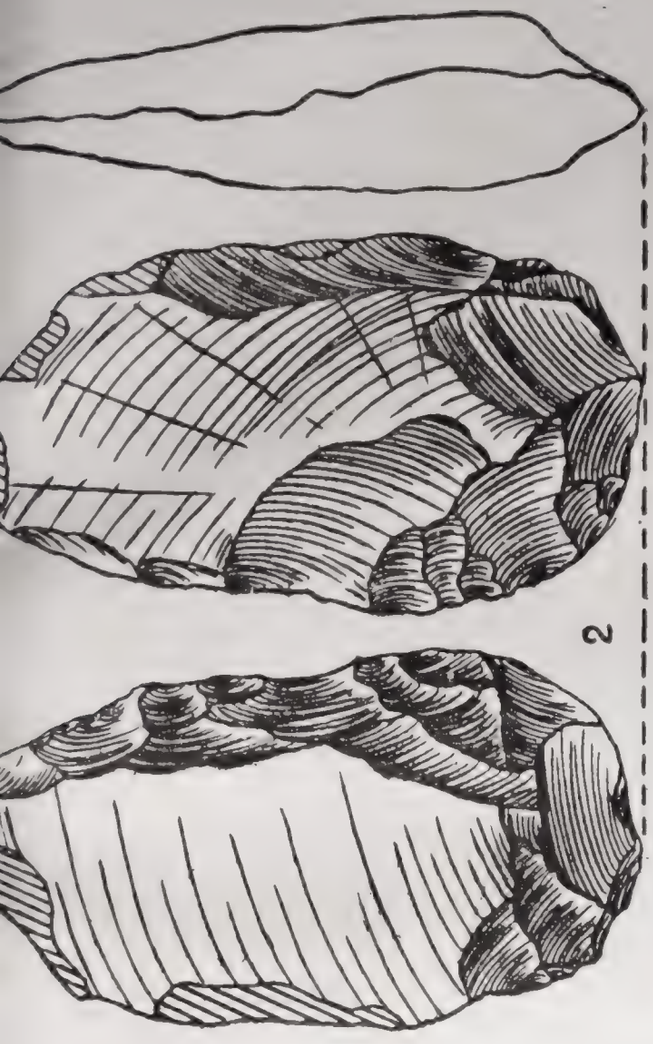
185 x 100 x 49 mm. Early Stone Age, almond-shaped, fully flaked, bifacial hand-axe; translucent greenish quartzite; on an indeterminate flake; roughly biconvex cross-section; slightly rolled; unfinished specimen.

3. Pratāppur—2

175 x 98 x 53 mm. Early Stone Age, elongated-peariform, fully flaked, bifacial hand-axe; brown quartzite; on an indeterminate flake; roughly triangular cross-section; almost fresh.

4. Pāllaharā—11

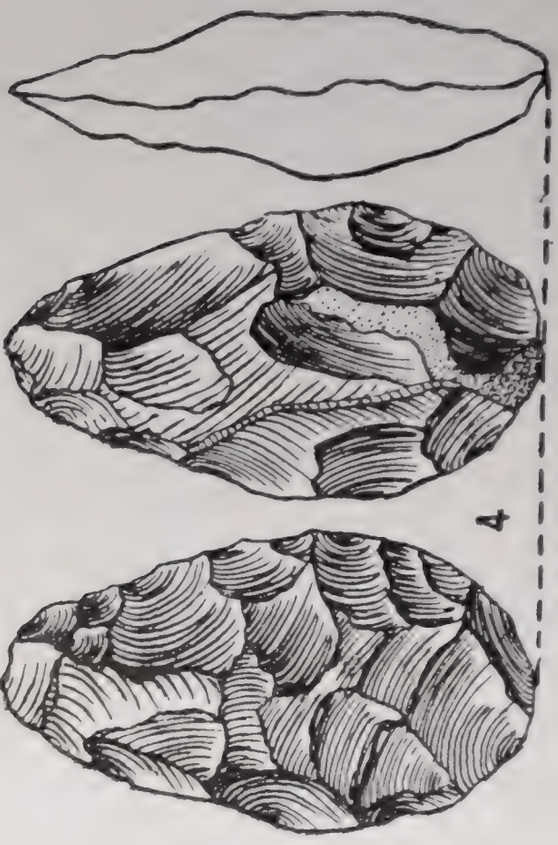
139 x 80 x 42 mm. Early Stone Age, elongated pearifrom, fully flaked, bifacial hand-axe; greenish quartzite; biconvex cross-section; highly rolled; red ferruginous stains in patches.



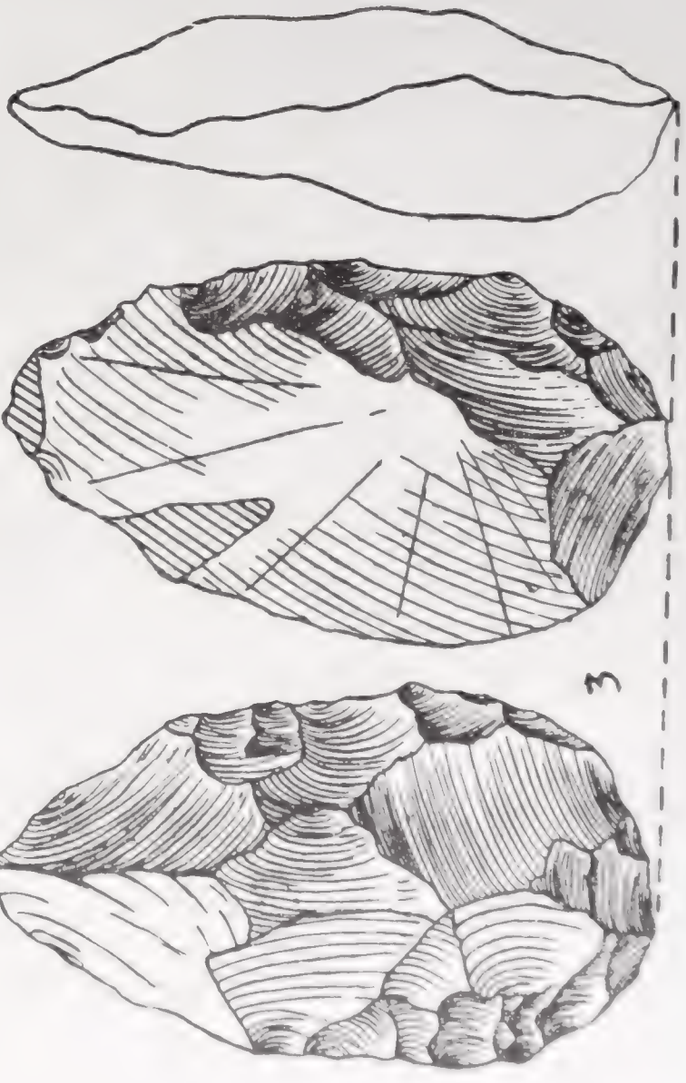
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Plate—V

Fig. 1. Champuā—10

75 x 32 x 32 mm. Middle Stone Age side-scraper; on an end-flake; red jasper banded with black; rolled.

2. Badrā—91

62 x 45 x 12 mm. Middle Stone Age point on a flake with the bulb at the tip; black chert; slightly rolled.

3. Badrā—96

45 x 40 x 9 mm. Middle Stone Age point on an end-flake; black chert banded with brown quartzite; slightly rolled.

4. Bhāluḍuñgri—11

19 x 17 x 5 mm. Microlithic point; red jasper; tip slightly broken; fresh.

5. Badrā—101

22 x 20 x 4 mm. Microlithic point; bluish opal; on an end-flake; rolled.

6. Badrā—35

Middle Stone Age fluted-core.

7. Boṇaikalā—7

Middle Stone Age blade.

8. Rairañgpur—14

45 x 25 x 9 mm. Middle Stone Age borer; on an end-flake; greenish chalcedony; slightly rolled.

9. Bhāluḍuñgri—16

46 x 17 x 13 mm. Middle Stone Age core-rejuvenation flake-blade; red jasper; fresh.

10. **Bhāluḍuñgri—12.**

18 x 15 x 5 mm. Microlithic thumb-scraper; red jasper; slightly rolled.

11. Kurhāḍi Minor Irrigation Project—15

18 x 11 x 5 mm. Microlithic side-scraper; red jasper; rolled.

12. Badrā—119

68 x 35 x 13 mm. Middle Stone Age scraper-borer; black chert; fresh.

13. Bisai—4

60 x 41 x 18 mm. Middle Stone Age point; milky quartz; fresh.

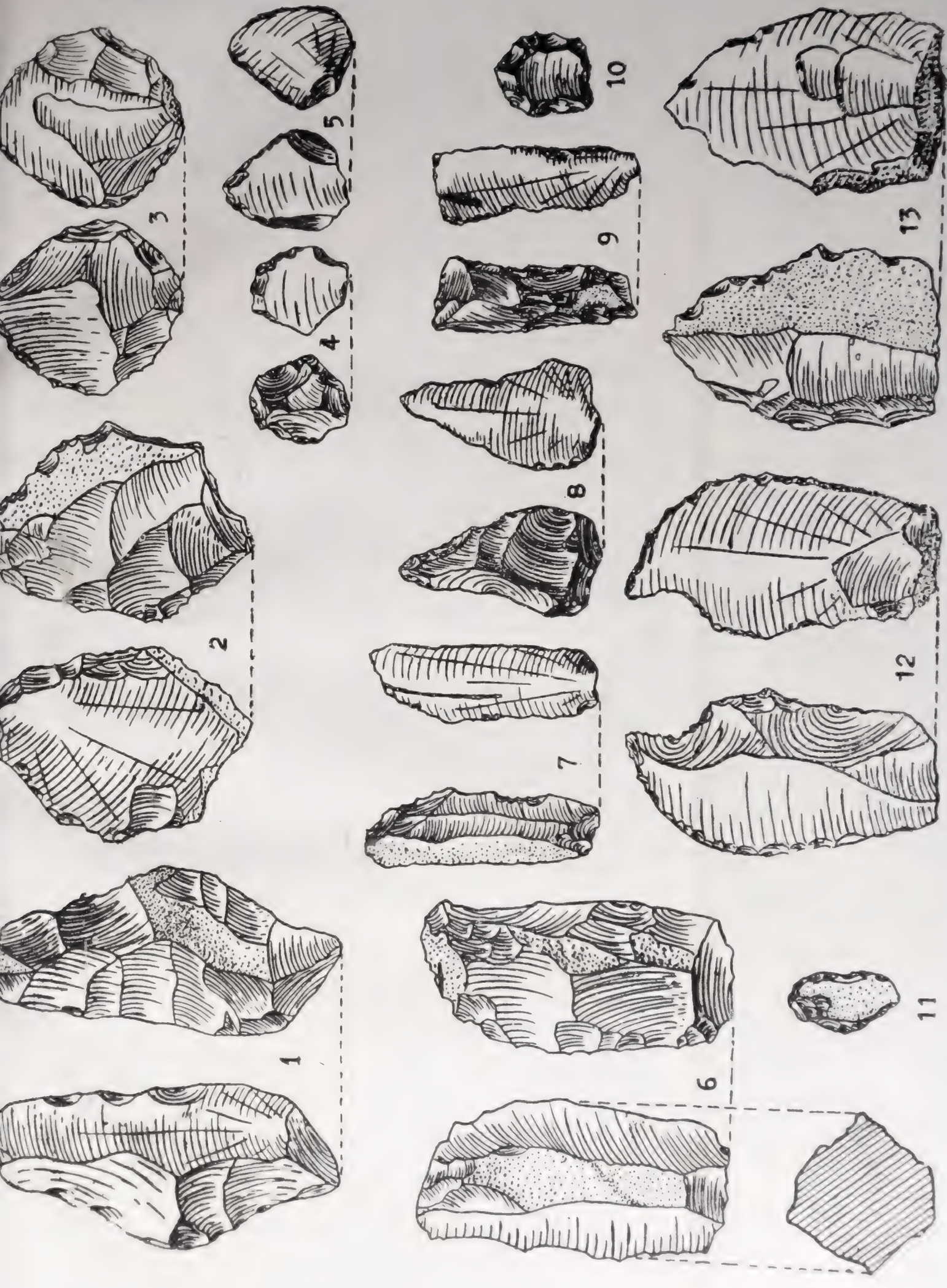

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Plate - VI

Middle Stone Age Tools

Fig. 1. Badrā—9

61 x 46 x 14 mm. Side-scraper; blackish fine-grain quartzite; end-flake; fresh.

2. Barasol—21

48 x 32 x 11 mm. End-scraper; bluish opal with black bands; rolled.

3. Bhañjgarh—4

57 x 29 x 14 mm. Side-scraper; red jasper; rolled.

4. Bhāluḍuñgri—4

62 x 38 x 16 mm. Side-scraper; fine-grain milky quartz; end-flake; fresh.

5. Rairañgpur 15

38 x 27 x 13 mm. Side-scraper; honey-coloured jasper; slightly rolled.

6. Badrā—97

47 x 35 x 16 mm. Hollow-scraper; black chert; thick end-flake; fresh.

7. Bahaldā—2

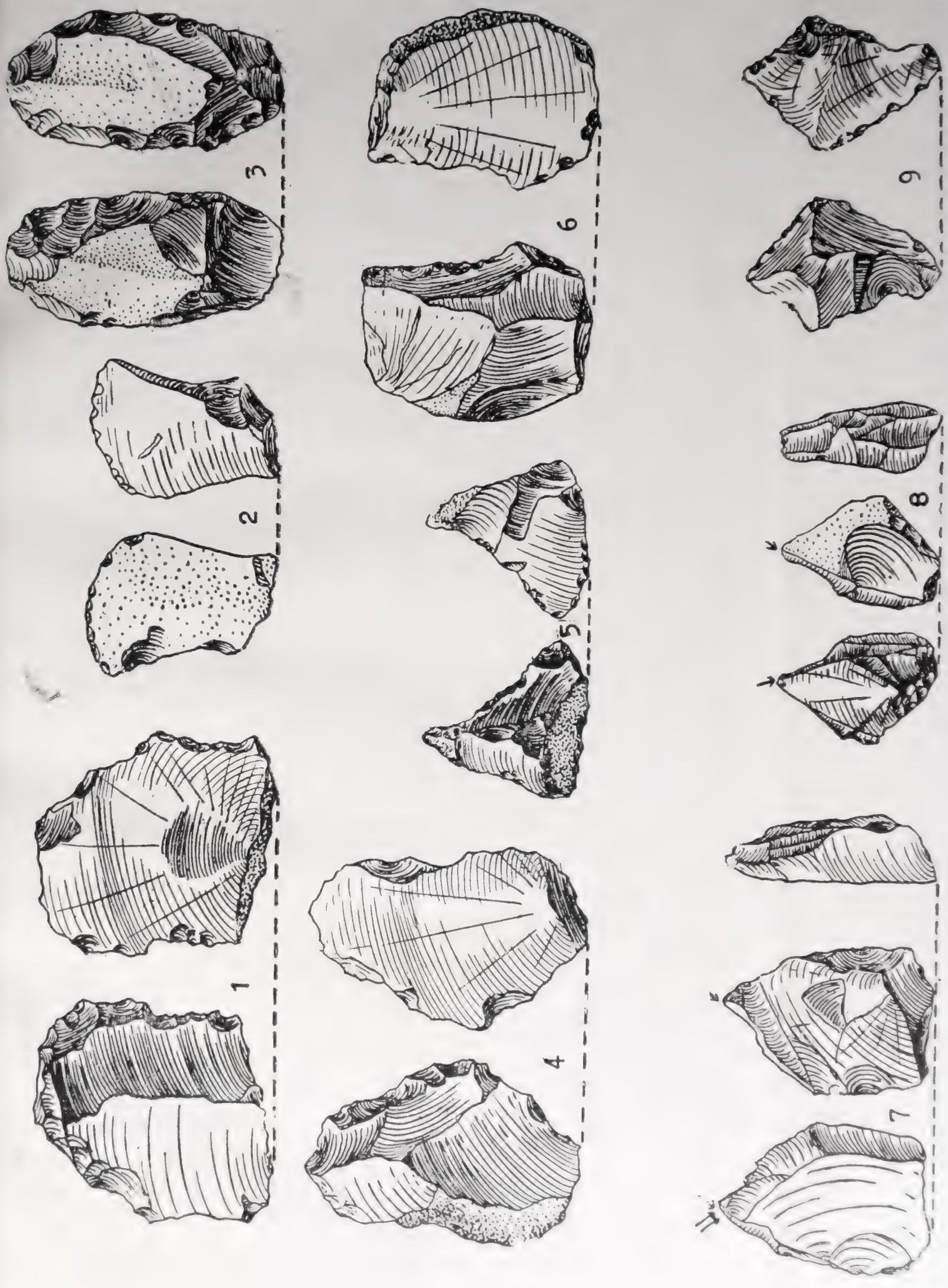
45 x 32 x 13 mm. Burin on a side-flake; fine-grain, bluish, translucent, quartzite; gouge-type; slightly rolled.

8. Bhāluḍuñgri—17

33 x 23 x 14 mm. Burin on a nodule; red jasper; chisel-type; fresh.

9. Rairañgpur—14

45 x 25 x 9 mm. Borer on an end-flake; greenish chalcedony; slightly rolled.


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Plate—VII

Microliths

Fig. 1. Pāṭnā—1

25 x 17 x 11 mm. Fluted-core; red jasper; rolled.

2. Bhañjgarh—17

21 x 19 x 16 mm. Thumb-scraper; red jasper; rolled.

3. Rairañgpur—44

34 x 24 x 16 mm. Fluted-core; bluish opal; rolled.

4. Bhañjgarh—6

46 x 16 x 11 mm. Fluted-core; red jasper; rolled.

5. Bisai—20

50 x 31 x 16 mm. Fluted-core; fine-grain black quartzite; slightly rolled.

6. Badrā—33

57 x 31 x 23 mm. Fluted-core; bluish opal banded with red and black; slightly rolled.

7. Bisai—50

25 x 14 x 4 mm. Simple blade; black chert; fresh.

8. Rairañgpur—65

30 x 11 x 4 mm. Backed blade; fine grain quartzite; fresh.

9. Badrā—12

29 x 13 x 6 mm. Worked or used blade; black fine grain quartzite; a notch at a side with retouches suggests its use as a hollow-scraper also; broken, slightly rolled.

10. Bhāluḍuñgri—20

22 x 9 x 5 mm. Worked or used blade; red jasper; fresh.

11. Badrā—120

25 x 10 x 4 mm. Worked or used blade; black chert; broken; slightly rolled.

12. Bhañjgarh—16

26 x 16 x 6 mm. End-scraper; red jasper; rolled.

13. Rairañgpur—41
    22 x 16 x 5 mm. Side-scraper; bluish opal; slightly rolled.
14. Bhañjgarh—8
    21 x 15 x 7 mm. Hollow-scraper; red jasper; fresh.
15. Rairañgpur—11
    35 x 11 x 5 mm. Worked or used blade; bluish opal banded with black; fresh.
16. Rairañgpur—66
    23 x 12 x 4 mm. Worked or used blade; black chert; fresh.
17. Bhāluḍuñgri—22
    14 x 10 x 4 mm. Backed blade; red jasper; broken; fresh.

Fig. 18. Raigañgpur—64
    20 x 10 x 4 mm. Worked or used blade; black chert; rolled.

19. Khuñṭagaon—7
    18 x 12 x 6 mm. End-scraper; red jasper; retouches are confined to the end of a thick blade-like nodule; rolled.
20. Bhāluḍuñgri—18
    23 x 15 x 8 mm. Hollw-scraper; red jasper; fresh.
21. Bhāluḍuñgri—9
    19 x 13 x 7 mm. Side scraper; red jasper; fresh.
22. Bisai—53
    21 x 19 x 17 mm. Thumb-scraper; blackish, fine-grain quartzite; fresh.
23. Rairañgpur—2
    40 x 21 x 16 mm. Flat-graver on a core; black chert; fresh.
24. Kandaliā—4
    48 x 26 x 16 mm. Core-graver, *bec-de-flute*; bluish opal and white quartzite; fresh.
25. Rairañgpur—67
    45 x 25 x 14 mm. Core-graver; *bec-de-flute*; black chert banded with white; fresh.

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Plate—VIII

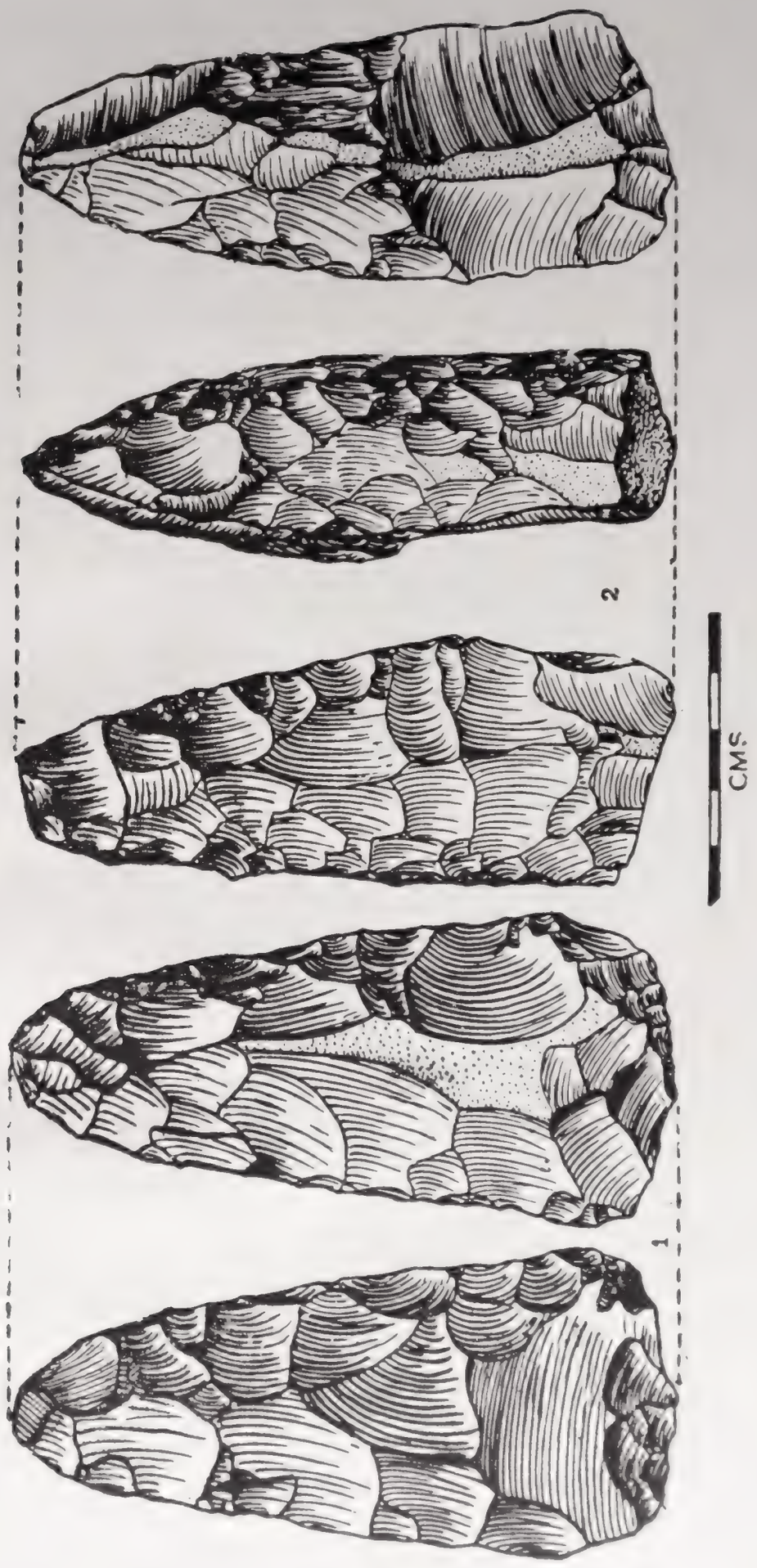
Neolithic Celts

Fig. 1. Jañgrā—1

116 x 53 x 26 mm. Greenish dolerite; unpolished; biconvex cross-section; slightly rolled.

2. Ramlā—6

115 x 43 x 39 mm. Buff dolerite; chisel; unpolished; roughly rectangular cross-section; slightly rolled.

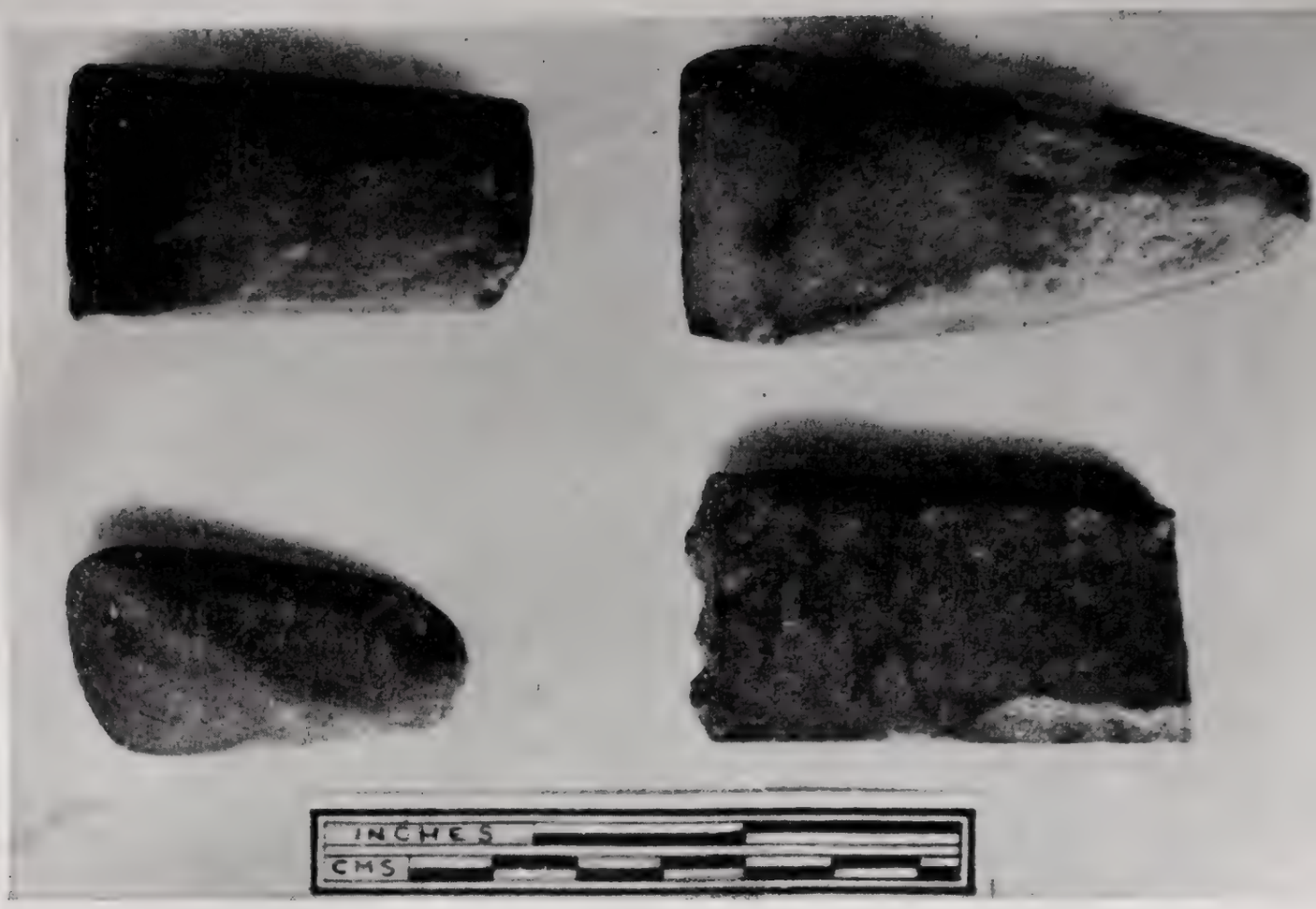

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Plate—IX

Fig. 1. Neoliths from Jaugaḍa, Dist. Gañjam.

Fig 2 Neoliths from Raḍiābindha, Dist. Mayūrbhañj

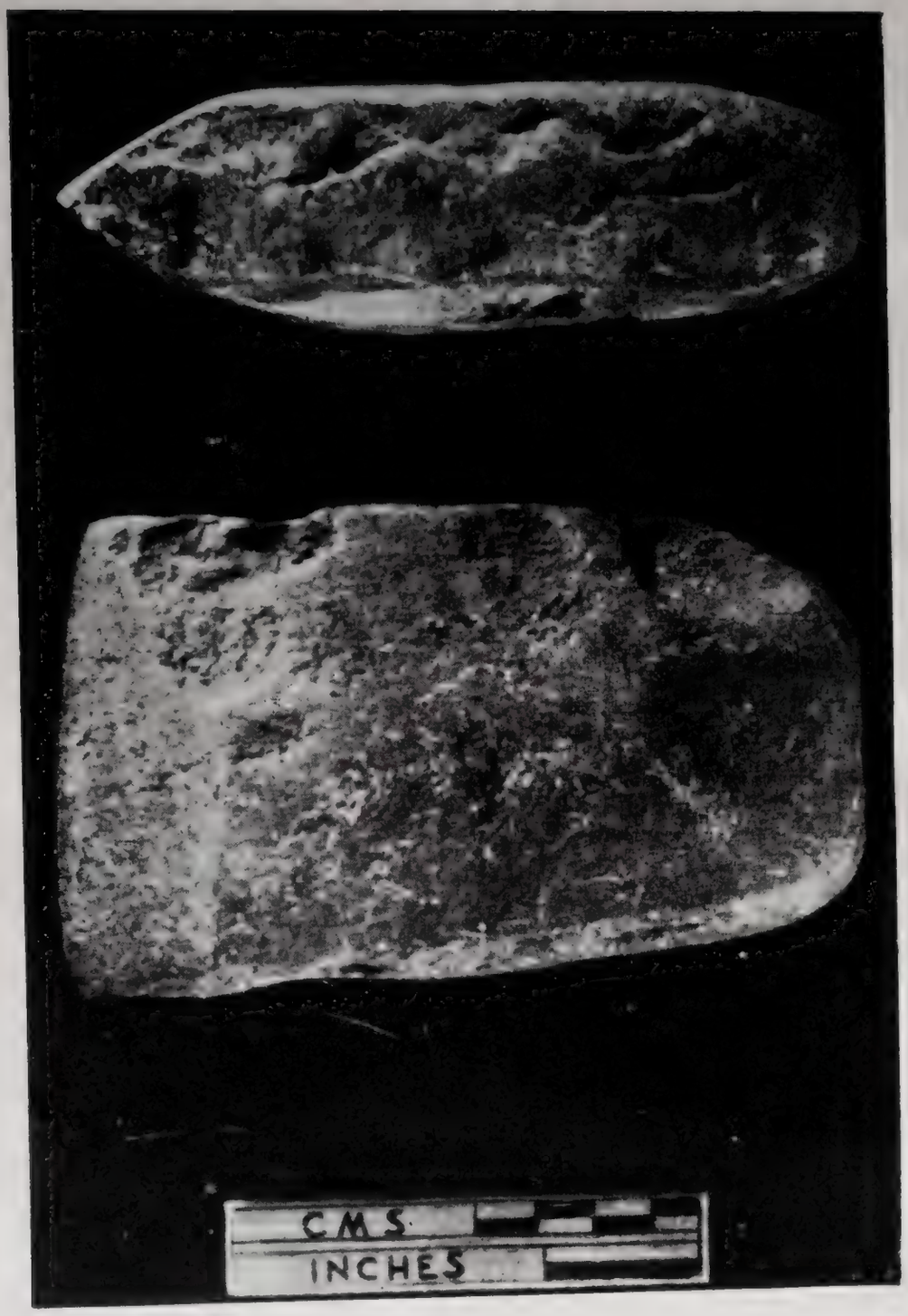
Fig. 3. Neoliths from Udayagiri, Dist. Puri.



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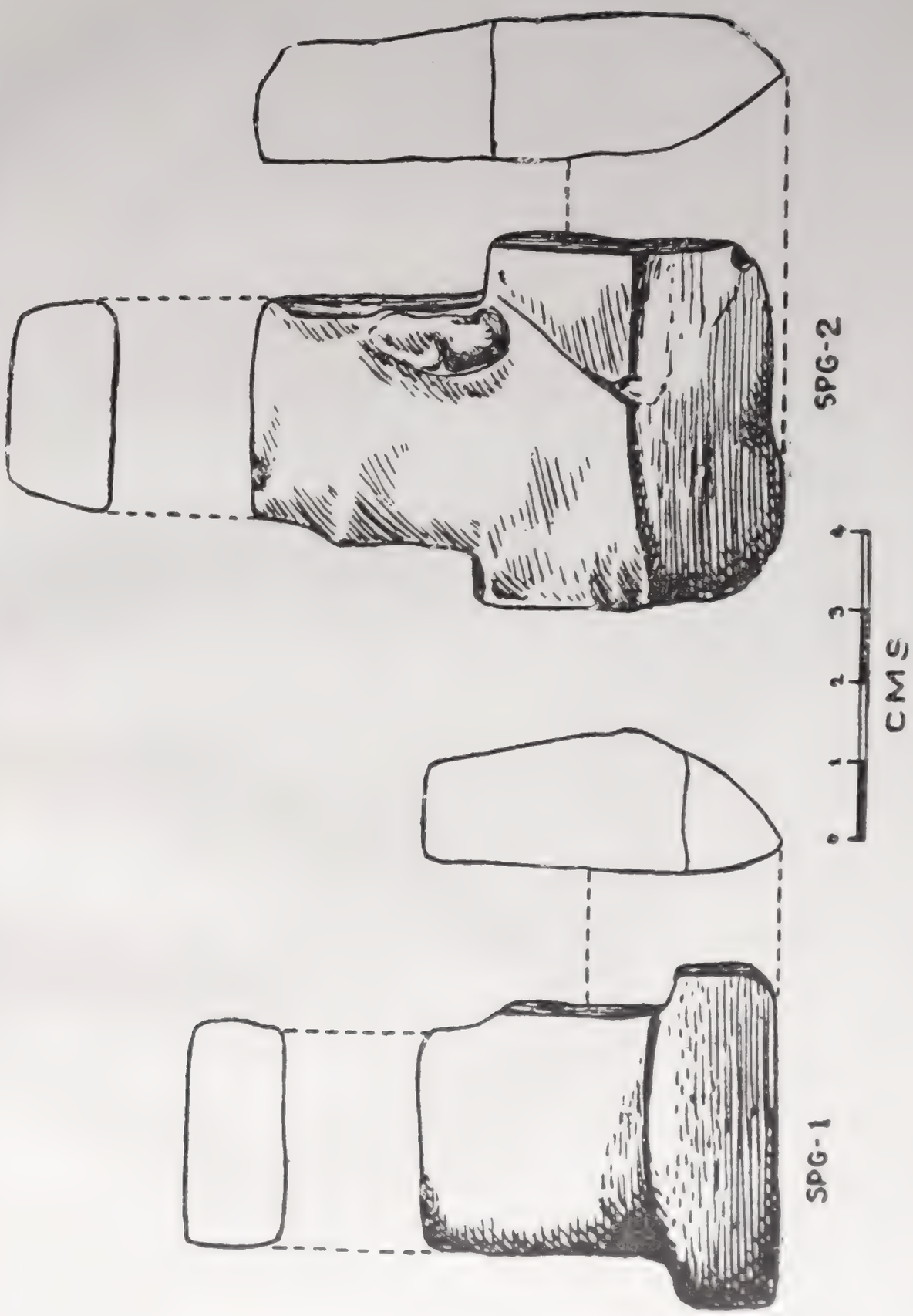
Plate—X

Shouldered celt from Śiśupālgarh, Dist. Puri

Plate—XI

Copper celt ($7\frac{3}{4}$ ins × $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins × $\frac{3}{8}$ ins) from Dunriā Dist. Dheñkānāl.

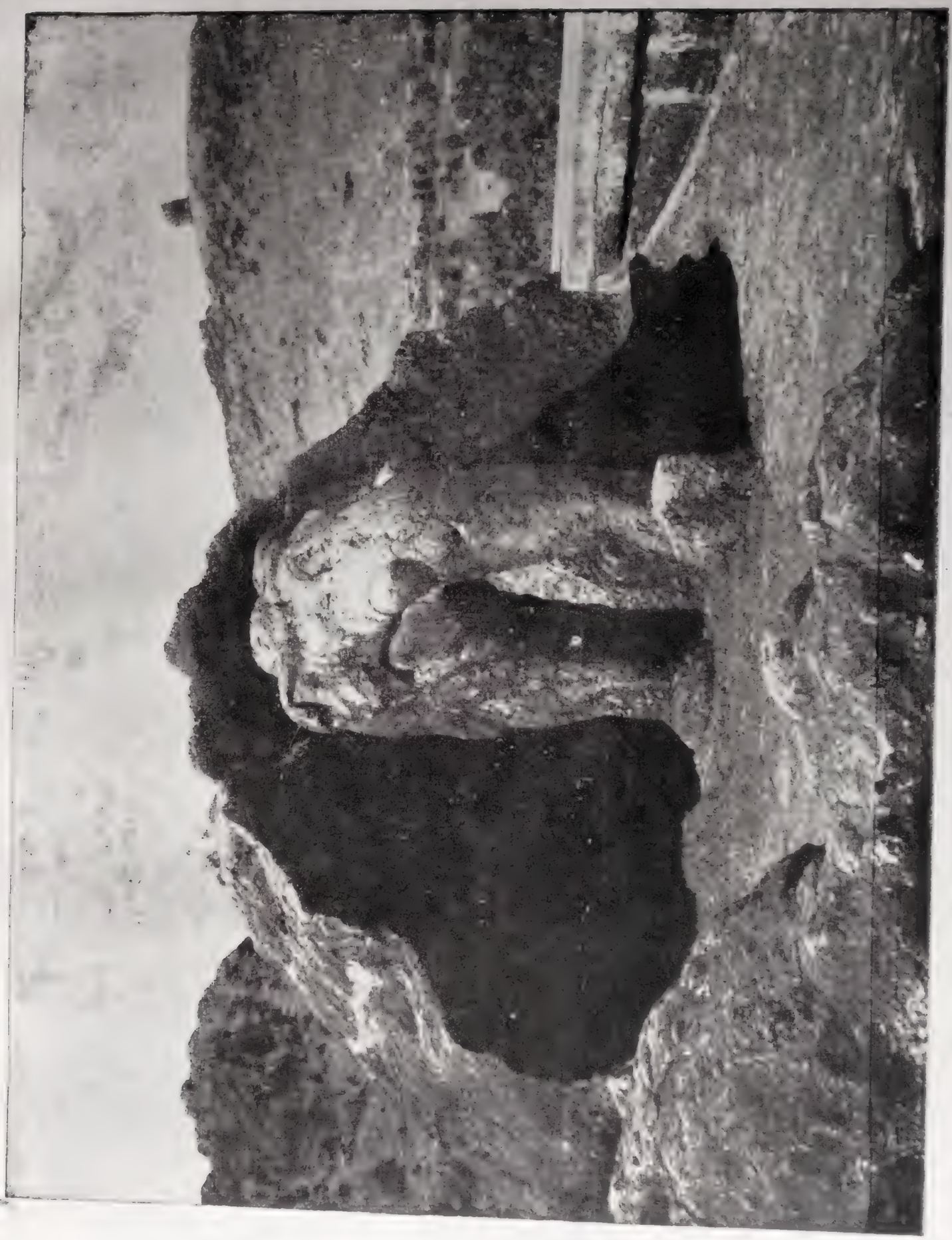
(State Museum, Lucknow)


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Plate—XII

Āśokan Elephant, Dhaulī hill, Dt. Purī.



Plate—XIII

Fig. 1. Bell-capital from Aśoka Jhara, Bhuvaneśwar.
(Orissa State Museum)

Fig. 2. Pilaster with bell-capital, crowning animal and Ghaṭa base.

Anantagumphā, Khaṇḍagiri, Dist. Puri.



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Plate—XIV

Fig. 1. Yakṣa from the suburb of Bhuvaneśwar.

(Orissa State Museum)

Fig. 2. Alleged Aśokan Lion.

(Orissa State Museum)



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Plate—XV

Symbols on Punch marked coins from Jhārpaḍā, Dist. Purī

1. Sun
2. Hare jumping on hills
3. Mystic symbol
4. Bull
5. Arches on hills
6. Saḍāra Chakra
7. Tree within railing
8. Tree without railing
9. Circle upon circle
10. Tridant, Axe and Elephant goad
11. Serpent
12. Dog (Lion ?)
13. Pitcher
14. Ya Ge Ra


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Plate—XVI

Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela,
Udayagiri, Dist. Purī.

Plate—XVII

Khāravela with his two Queens witnessing performance of dance and music.

Rāṇīgumphā (lower storey) Udayagiri, Dist. Purī.

Plate—XVII



Plate—XVIII

1. Fight for the Lotus tank between the wild tusker and his she-elephants on one side and the hero and his women on the other.
   The lady in the front is conspicuous by her courage.

2. The hero wounded is being nursed by the brave lady in a cave. A rapacious warrior is led by a woman towards the cave. Fight between the brave lady and the warrior.
   The lady overpowered, is being abducted.

3. The king (Khāravela ?) is out on hunting.
   The lady is rescued.

4. Performance of dance and music in honour of the lady rescued.

These scenes are from the Rāṇīgumphā (upper storey), Udayagiri, Dist. Puri.



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Plate—XIX

Fig. 1. Gatekeeper turbanned, pot bellied, without weapon, with *dhoti* tucked up.

Fig. 2. Gatekeeper booted, turbaned, with weapon, dressed in a kilt.

Both the figures from the upper right wing of Rāṇigumphā, Udayagiri. Dist. Puri.



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Plate—XX

Air-view of Śiśupālgarh (courtesy Director General of Archaeology, Govt. of India)

A. Habitation area.

B. Cutting across the defence (1948).

C. Excavated gate-way (1948).

D. Unexcavated site having monolithic pillars.


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Plate—XXI

Painting at Rāvaṇachhāyā

Sitābiñjhi



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